



TO THE RIGHT EXCELENT
and vertuous Lady, the Lady Anne Coun-
tesse of Warwicke : and to the right Noble, and worthie
Ladie, my Ladie and Mistrisse, Katherine, Barones

Howard of ~~W~~ingham, and to the rest of the illustri-
ous Ladies of her sacred Maiesties most Ho-
nourable priuie Chamber.



*In this Epistle, (Excellent La-
dies) I containe not my stile within
the bounds of breuitie, let the large
scope which the fiede of your vertues
proffereth, bee a sufficient excuse to
my imputed blame: if in the course of
the worke, which this Epistle presen-
teth to your Patronage, multitude of
errors haue beene ouerslipped, yet I
bumbly beseech it bee so much graced by your beautie, as what
is good may bee acceptable vnto you, and my infirmities
which are most may with all other (who bee they neuer so great,
are or haue beene seruantes to some in your place) for your
sake lye couered, my weaknesse beeing the more augmented,
in that my pen is so meere a straunger to my profession, en-
tertayning it onely, and that rarelye to ouercome that Idle-*

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nes of time, which to my selfe is over familiar, rather in wast and void papers exercising the same, then fit for any ende or purpose. Among which a few parcels haue bene Translated by me some yeeres since, reforme or purgation, and had still so continued, had I not (Noble Countesse) bene by those which had full power ouer me otherwise enioyned. Wherein I haue sooner chosen to eternise my own insufficiencie, then render their perfection by any waies unsatisfied. And therefore haue made choice to publish these fower first Bookes by an vnknowne (without name, but a most iust and faithfull) Author, at the first digested in a forren tongue, wherein I must needs yeelde to add so much more to my owne vnperfectnesse, as shall come within the view of your eyes, or ponder of your iudgement, as then receiuing most blemish, when you shall vouchsafe the Author in his owne and proper language: Who cannot in himselfe but much satisfie such is his stile, judgement, truth and varietie of matter, wherein the minde of man most delighting, doth undoubtedly couet Historie, before all other writings, and if Historie what more pleasing then is in him contained? So many euents and alterations disclosed, secret disseins, and intentions of mightie Princes revealed; Emperours not enduring equalitie, Kings disdained, swelling warres, treacherous truces, Popes practisiers, and triumphing in perjuries, generall Councils disauowed, Empires voluntarily resigned, princes martyred, Crownes vsurped, Popes deposed, Rome besieged, his holines and Cardinals in danger to be hungerstarued, descriptions of Citties, Townes, Castles and fortres, representations of Royall armies, Inundations, Plagues, Earthquakes, famines, and other Gods wrathfull iudgements, Sects and Scismes in holie Churches, horre persecutions, Religion made a Couerture to faction and ambition: the selfe same King at one instant prosecuting in their owne Realmes, what in person they

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assisted, and protected in the Empire, with the true cause, roote & foundation of al the miseries, which the state of Christendome at this day, and since fiftie yeares hath endured: vnder the discourse of the French estate, ouerrunning al worthie occurrences of Europe, Turkie, and America: A Historie though modern, & familiar to many now liuing Actors therein yet yeelding precedence, for matter, methode, knowledge and iudgment, to none, but thee triumphant Tacitus, sacred Emperors lying subiect to thy pen, and the mightiest Monarchy of the earth, to thy censure. As my poore trauailes (which most of all kept me from being willing to diuulge the same) obscured by thy stateli Sauile. Exquisite Sauile honour to thy Vniuersitie, though in thy vertue an enemy to me, ouerdropping and shadowing my endeouours, as the high broad Oke doth young and tender sproutes, wrong not thy selfe and country with longer silence of thy pen, proude in thy Author, proude in thy Sainte, and not least proude in the commender of thy worke, thy A. B. thy secret and haughtie Mecænas, disguised in the two first letters, the whole Alphabet not being enough to set forth his worthe, but he may not so escape in a shadowe, his eloquence discoauereth his Arte, his iudgement his experience, and his experience (in hauing assaulted the dreadfullst Monarch of our world, to the verie gates of his chieftest Cittie,) hath confirmed his valour, to his neuer dying glorie. But how much the more naked I stande frustrate of countenance, subiect to errors, & so thorough error to reprove, (as whatsoeuer is mine can be no other worth, so much more (high and worthie Countesse) doth the power of your patronage in my protection, extend it selfe, and the grace of your fauor in vouchsafing the reading of this worke vnworthie only by my owne vnablenesse, to set it forth vnto you like it selfe. The subiect whereof, though loftie in managing the glorious actions of anointed Soueraignes, and repre-

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sending the fierce exploits of vnmercifull and bloudy warres, can no waies yet be strange, or dissonant to your eares, daughter to so great an Earle of Bedford, graue Councillor, commander and gouernour, sometimes of that Royall towne and Garrison, which bordereth on the Scottish soyle: and deare wife to that redoubted Ambrose, Earle of Warwicke, expert and faithfull Councillor, (Sonne to so puissant and Magnanimious a Duke) his name, his fame, his valor resounding in foraine Regions, while he had the honour to bee commaunder and Lieutenant generall ouer a Royall English armie, by your birth and Marriage seeming to be chosen, and consecrated to Mars himselfe, happie in father, more happie in husband, but most happie in your Soueraignes grace, ornament of her Courte, true patterne of pietie, deuotion, charitie and vertue.

And you (Excellent Mistrisse) to whome as well for your honour, bountie and fauours, my fruites and Labours are most due; as hauing first vnderaken the same, eating of your bread, vouchsafe your Patronage, & disdaine not my Authors English weede, who presenteth his attendance vpon your Person, at such time as wearied with other occasions, you are accustomed to retire your selfe to your Bookes and Muses. Verified is that in you, that neuer, Les alone; then when most alone, for the more part spending your vacation of time, either in Meditation of holie letter, or conference and reading of some notable and famous Historie, which whether it treat of peace, pollicie, war, or martiall exploits, can hardly discouer ought, new or strange vnto your wisdom, the one by your high place, long seruices, and Courtelie conuersation, made familiar vnto you, the other by nothing more, then the signall acts, and heroicall prowes of Magnanimious and victorious Charles, your Lo. and husband, true patriot, carefull Councillor, vigilant commaunder, rightlie and iustly

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iustly deere to his Soueraigne and Countrie, dreadfull to the enimie, terror to traytors, and scourge of Spanish Monarchie, which the defeate of that inuincible army, (for so in Print the Ieues published) can best testifie, the glorie whereof can not but stirre vp those two young fimpes of great hope and expectation, (ouer whome you haue euer beene a carefull Cornelia) as well to succede their renoumed Father, in his vertues (which neuer shal perish) as other his humane dignities & possessions; wherof if you shall not in this Historie haue the like profered to your view, (for no age hath left any such recorde) yet cōtemne not the reading of my Author, by whome you shall receiue the true first motiue of all the Ciuil and foraine warres of Fraunce in our age, and her neighbour Countries: with such memorable accidents and occurrents, as continually were ministred. Not like to that impudent, though excellent writer, Paulus Iouius, no lesse worthy to be a Bishoppe, then a Historiographer, who plainly auerred, nay was not ashamed himselfe in his Bookes to vaunt, how he made no accounte in writing a lie, were it in matter of consequence, or to please the appetite of great ones, which shoulde set him a worke: for that wher ther was one in his time, which knew the fault from the truth, all posterity hereafter would notwithstanding belieue and giue credite to what he should set down, my Author contrariwise, hath beene so little tickled with the couet of rewarde or ambition (capital enemies to the truth) as that he refuseth to set his owne name to his so painefull labours, mildely and with such great temperance ouerrunning the proceedings of all enemies, as hee cannot iustly be suspected of any partiall leaning to the one side more then the other, wishing for my own part that some one ther were (according to my tast giuen) who in this scribling age (whereof translating humours and quoters are plentie) would finish out the rest, many fragments and sundrie

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Bookes yet lying by me (as I once intended, but since, through an accident that happened) in a pelt slong away my pen, considering what I had done, (as I then thought) to utter darkenesse, weary of giuing Līeries to other mens retayners, like a conceyted builder, rather delighted with an inferiour model of his owne framing, then to rough-cast, or adorne a more goodly and sumptuous palīace left vnto his hands, reseruing my selfe to somewhat (though simplier) of my owne hammering and digesting, which the proiect already being faulied, time may finish and peraduenture bring to light, if feare of receiuing foyle by that illustrious Camden, doe not otherwise withdrawe my humorfoyle, yet honour enough to be an imitator, and carrier of thy Bookes, (Precious & curious Camden) thy owne Country prints not sufficient to extend thy name, worthy to finde Kinges thy nursing fathers, and Queenes thy nurses, rare Iewell of Britaine land, enemye to inglorious obliuion, tresurer of memorie, trumpet of Albyons fame, register of Antiquitie and poursuant of eternitie.

It now resteth (glorious and beautifull Ladies) adorned with your stately ranke and place, humbly to intercesse pardon for my presumption in seeking so boldly to shrowde the infirmities of my pen, vnder the shadowe of your winges. And that it will please you to grace with your generall safe conduct this my newe English Denizen to passe from place to place, (free from any Menippean search) vntill he may make his rende-uous in some contemplatiue, or retired hands, who though he now seeme Clownish & Rogish like, yet notwithstanding in his own Country guise, is well esteemed of, & very commendable. In which albeit many of you bee singularly well able to iudge of him, yet if it please any of the rest, to vouchsafe to entertayne his broken English, I dare assure that for his discourse, you shall finde him very delightfull

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delightfull, for his newes more ordinarie, and for his truth can bring good seruise, when soeuer he may be permitted to attend vpon your leasure, not importuning his access, vntill wearied with your more weighty and serious seruises, a desire may possesse you, instead of recreation, to spend with him some fewe hōwers of the day. A matter heretofore accustomed (in my knowledge) by manye high and losie Ladies, who often times to be meete with wearisomnes, exercised themselves in studie, & reading of worthy writers, as Marguerite Countesse of Lennox, Anne Countesse of Oxford, Francis Countesse of Suffex, Elizabeth Countesse of Lincolne, the Lady Marie Sydney (living my thrice honoured mistresse) truly liberall and bountifull, rare Mother of so heroicall an offspring, by her noble minde and cariage easily discouering greatness of birth and Princely parentage, and that wise good, and godly Ladie aduancer of so many excellent personages, both in Arts and Armes, employing her credite with her Souldiours, (when whome none had greater) in doing good offices, for all sort in generall, but especially preferring those, in whome she might perceiue any signification of vertue to appeare. I haue made Sir Satron, harmelesse Courtier, and faithfull seruant Francis Barones of Cobham, (late wife to the noble L. and now the Countess) yet living) to whome I was so much bound (in many duties being likewise to the whole house) as that both in her health and languishing Maladie, she sundrie times admitted me, to conferre or reade with her, finding in the Ecclesiasticall Historie her most delight. But no waies may I beere without extreame note of grosse oversight pretermitt in this list, that famous Religious and learned Ladie (flower of her familie,) prouident mother, blessed in her posteritie, Mildred Barones of Burghlie, besides her knowledge in the Latine letters, (wherein of a subiect she excelled) such were her studies, exercises,

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cises, and continuall Meditation in the Greeke Doctor of the Church, (especially Basil, Cyril, Chrysostome and Nazianzene,) as a chiefe reader in that tongue (Laurence by name) hath ere now confessed vnto me, that in his iudgement she Egalled if not ouermatched any, in whose profession (as expected so) most was to be required. Neither were these excellent parts of hers, onely Theoricall, but still put in practise like an other Dorcas, full of piety and good works, as without any ostentation or vainglorie, besides her readines in solliciting for poore and distressed sutors vnto her deare Lo. (the auncient Councillor of Europe, Pater Patriæ, pillar of the state, thorough whose prudent pollicie, and carefull watchings iustly may be applied, Neque periculum in R. P. fuit grauius unquam, nec maius otium) in her life time setting on her owne charge so many poore worke, her exhibition to Schollers, liberallitie to Vniuersities, bountie to exiled strangers, and her most abounding charitie euerie quarter to all the prisons about London bath manifestly declared, I hope that in so long insisting vpon the vertues of this Lady and others, I shall not be misliked, for insinuation, lesse feare to be suspected, namelesse like my Author and yet if knowne most will confirme, that Non mihi promptum in adulationes ingenium. But I haue the rather presumed of your patience, in delighting of these honourable personages, to the end to incite you to treade in their steps, and imitate their examples. Such as you are, were they, and such as they now are, shall euerie one of you be, who though they seeme faded, and as it were vanished from among vs, yet doth their goodnesse, and memorie stil remaine fresh and fixed in the minds and harts of manie.

But how can it otherwise fare (Illustrious Ladies) but that you must needes succcede, or rather abounde in all or greater worthinesse hauing the honour and blisse to bee trayned vpp,

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in the same Schoole, from the which they (and all other) borrow their light as the Moone doth fro the Sun, at the mouth of that diuine Oracle, Ex cuius ore, melle dulcior fluit oratio, that sacred Queene, vnmachable and victorious Virgine, Supereminens omnes, Mans mirror, Ioues darling, worlds wonder, and natures perfection, whose Angelicall face so often as I doe behold, (as behold to often I can not) methinketh I still (with daseled eyes) see as it were in full aspect Solarem Maestatem, cum Saturnina grauitate.

That the powerful and essentiall thing of things, may number the peaceable yeeres of her Raigne like the sands of the Sea, that the shadow gonne downe in the Dyall of Ahaz, may be ten and ten degrees brought backward, that the Sunne abide, and the Moone stand still, untill she may be auenged of her enemies. Let all her Subiects pray, our age rest thankfull, posteritie admire, and the beauen eternise her name for euer.

Tho. Brannett.





The Historie of Fraunce.

THE FIRST BOOKE.



Ow that those our Actions are most worthy of praise, which can both please & profit together, wherein a History ought to haue the aduantage to excell all other, I do not wel know, & though I did, hardly could I tell, whether in representing vnto you the estate of *Fraunce*, and nations neighbours vnto it, since fortye yeeres past I might doe a generall pleasure, considering the mallice, enuye, and diuersitie of iudgements of every man. True it is, that if I be not deceiued through the selfe liking of my owne labour, the truth herein so clearely represented, the free desire of euery ones profit in sundry sortes, the varietie and notable euent of so many accidents doe sufficiently promise vnto mee a gracious acceptance, euen at the handes of the more gentle and better vnderstanding sort of strangers, who being farre from my knowledge, and thereby lesse tickled with enuie, (an ordinary companion of the liuing) shall be more rightly able to iudge of my labours. I doe lesse doubt, how small or much pleasing fouer the first Treatises of this Historie shal be, but that all wil euen hasten to see the progresse and issue therof, some allured thereunto through the pleasure, which the diuersitie of so strange and memorable an Argument offereth vnto them, and other of a curiositie praiſe worthie, to be willing to know the meruailes of Gods iudgments, the great hatreds and small charitie: So many peaces broken, so many warres renewed, so strange cruelties, so smal fauours: in summe al the Potentates of christendom at banding for, and against the French, who most miserably haue made themselues the foole in the play, and the vnhappy end & variable reencounter of more rare miseries, then euer worldlings did practise. I cleane contrarye knowing the verye causes and meanes through which wee haue beene cunningly ledde to such pouertie, endeuour as much as possibly I may, to estrange from my selfe the consideration of so miserable effects, and fetch my history from more high, reaching somewhat beyond the beginning of our ciuill warres, where wandring in a true discourtſe of forraine affaires, and such as are common vnto vs, with our neighbours, I seeke the recompence of my paines. In this chiefly that as maister of my selfe, I comānd my owne affections for a

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while, to forget our calamities passed, from which I may boldly borrow so much leasure as I shall esteeme necessarie, to turne away for a season so sorrowfull and pitious a remembrance, as thereby I am howely put in minde of: and albeit the memory of such griefes ought not any wayes to cause a vertuous disposition to swarue from the truth, no more then the friendship of some, hatred of other, or respect of great personages should doe, and though hee is very rarelye to be found, which is not spied in the ende: if not throughlye gained, yet at the least tempted by some one of these passions, especially in so confuse, graue, and deepe a matter: I will notwithstanding be found so little partiall as all men shall haue more cause in other matters to disgrace me, then in the truth of such accidents as are heere set forth: which if they shal bring a form of a more agreeable setting forth, either by the number of strange occurrences, or exceeding by a more excellency of deliuey, the rudenes of my naturall language: howsoeuer it be, so faire am I from enuying so great a benefite to those of my age, that I shall holde my selfe for well satisfied, when I shall not gather any other profite of my long watchings, then to see my selfe at the end of so great trauailes, to haue vnderaken more for the pleasure of others, then my owne particular. And now that among Historiographers my name resteth as obscured, their high valour & number which are able to shadow the light, will bring me some comfort: ioynd therewithall is, that my qualitie holding more of action then of contemplation, doth dispence with me to make any profession of writing, but in matter of consequence wherein I am most delighted: which being the cause that I best iudge of my insufficiency: for being able to conduyt and profite so labourfome a trauaile, I will call vpon his grace which is able to blesse the beginning, pursuite, and last end of such a labour.

Being then resolu'd to lay before your eyes the estate of Fraunce and her neighbours since fortye yeares passed, and considering how the causes of humane accidents are maintained by an eternall bonde, and knowlege of fewe people, I thought I should make my worke a great deale more commendable, if I did fetch the matter from more high, thogh not from the first spring, yet at the least from the more apparant occasions which haue brought forth so strange occurrences. For when I should entreat but of the wars between *Charles* the Emperour, and *Philip* his sonne, against the Kings of Fraunce, or of the change of Religion throughout Christendome, or of the Seditions that ensued thereon, I should worke you very small pleasure and lesse profit, in laying downe these matters so rawly vnto you, leaning in the meane time vndiscouered, the roote and cause of these great ones enmities: the beginning and progresse of the reformation, the paines and pursuities against such as were wilfull in the faith, when, whence, and how the Lutherans were disperfed throughout the whole world, by what meanes and successe they haue bene maintained against the Catholiques in euery Countrey: together with the moufe and conduite which both the one and the other pretended to bring, to the defence of the true and auncient religion. And hereby in shewing you the beginnings and preparatiues of the stomacking warres among the Christians, I shall make you to iudge how the most notable broyle which euer was scene in Christendome, had his beginning from the diuersities of opinions, in the explanation of the religion of our Fathers. To the maintenance of which, the persecutions which were ordained and pursued against the more stedfast in their faith, haue brought forth lesse troubles in all sortes of vertues, but much greater be it in quantitie or qualitie of vices, yea surpassing all misfortune, number, and varietie of notable accidents, all the warres which euer our ancestours had against their neighbours: as the narration of the pittifull effectes both of the one and the other

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worldly passion shall make apparant vnto you, if you will patiently abide the reading thereof vntill the end.

The peace which was concluded between *Charles* the Emperour, and *Fraunce* the first, together with that which ensued at *Andres* betweene *Henry* 8. K. of England, and the K. of Fraunce, maintained as well the estates and subjects of these Princes, as of sundry other Christians which by alliance, neighbourhood, or other dutie of friendship communicated with their passions, in such rest and aduantage, as all esteemed themselves happye of their present case, considering their toyles passed: euery one reioysing so much more, as hauing suffered a world of miseries, vnder the continuance of so long and cruell warres, they had euery fully perswaded themselves that the immortal haireds of their Soueraignes would vterly enuy the coming of so greatly a desired peace: ledde herunto, for that finding their harteburnes grounded vpon a slight enough despite, yea more ambitious then reasonable, they often enough lawe them counsell'd by those, who hauing nought else then their Masters pleasure & their owne particular before their eyes, represented vnto them but an apparence of good: the pursuite whereof being alwaies vnfortunate to subjects, brought only honor and profit, to such as full cunningly knew how to make their owne markets. But such was the eternall providence, or to speake naturally, the vndiscreet lightnes of the French, ioynd with a too vaine ambition of their neighbours, drawing from so euill guided a passion, a lamentable spring of all our miseries to come, that so yong a peace could not be suffered to wax old among the Christians, who too ticklish in their case, & as it were leaping with a desire of new changes, seemed to seek nothing else then an occasion how to free themselves from this rest, which already seemed too noysome vnto the. Now as according to the infinite recurrence of humane accidents, they could not long want matter to entertaine the fire of their ancient enmities: the occurrence of the protection of Parma presented it selfe but too soone to heare the well nere tempered affections of these Princes, of their people and allies, by a new motion which so greatly changed their counsaile harts, not yet full cooled of their burning enmities, that there needed no long time to perswade them to make warre, and fall together by the eares with greater stomack then euer. Beholde the very cheefe occasions.

The ancient hatreds between the Spaniards and French, grounded vpon the pretence of Naples, Milan, Flaunders, Burgundie, and sundry other rights (for the maintenance whereof so much Christian blood hath bene shed) reuiued between *Fraunce* the first, & *Charles* of Austria, & continued for light enough occasions, were no lesse entertained through the enuy of the glory which the French atchieued, at the memorable defeat of (at their times) the inuincible Swislers at *Marignan*, the conquest of Milan, and sundry other great aduantages happened to the Flowredeluce, then the ielousie of the honor and aduancement, which *Charles* got at such time as the seauen Electors of Germany bestowed vpon him (to be meete with the French) the title and soueraigne power of Emperour ouer the Christians: and since being tooth and nayle pursued by the ambitious and sturdie nature of these two, though yong, yet the greatest Princes of Christendome, there euer fell out such store of matter to nourish this fire of enmitie, that one could not but iudge it eternall, if *Charles* had not first shewed both to the Princes of his owne time and to come, as well by his succession to the goods and rights of his ancestors, as by his voluntary resignation of his estates, and free retreat into a solitary life void of the prances of this worlde, how one ought to take and leaue hatreds, rather with discretion then blinde passion or aduise of euil counsellors, into which almost all Lords, by indiscretion, faintnes of hart,

The state of
Fraunce and
countrie ad-
ioyning from
the seere
1544.

The begin-
ning of war
and miseries
among chris-
tians.

* Warres be-
gun between
the French
and Spanish.

The Historie of Fraunce.

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The nature of
Charles 3.

The nature of
Francis 1.

Of other insufficiencye, suffer themselves to be but too much ledde. *Charles* notwithstanding was cunning, a dissembler, a great husband as well in the expence of his time as treasure, patient, staide and well settled, courageous in adueritie, discreet in his wordes and actions, of a good and strong stature, scorning the outward glories and shewes of the worlde, having for counterpeale of his good partes, the indisposition of his person, (else will in his own opinion, and the wealth of his estate for the end of his actions, more then reason, honor or iustice, what euer could be alledged vnto him to the contrary. *Francis* on the other side was open, too bountifull, impetuous in dier, apparell, buildings, and other outward things, royal in performance of his worde, valiant, courageous, a great friend to learning and other rare matters, but blemishing his praise-worthy partes with too suddaine a change of opinion, and and too free credite giting to such as he had lightly enough chosen for his cheefe fauourites, no lesse then by worldly pleasure, which carrying him to the fruition of things corporall and fleshy, shortened the course of his life, which otherwise could not chuse but haue bene very long, considering the estate of his person, and a reasonable good forme of dyet which hee helde by the aduise of his Physicians. Both of them friends to the people, whom they would not overcharge but in great necessities, courageous, ambitious, yet to haue imagined eche one in their owne conceite, to haue had the Empire of the worlde, alike friends of Fortune, if you compare the losses which *Charles* sustained at *Metz*, in *Fraunce*, in *Affrique*, and elsewhere, with the imprisonment of *Francis*, they both left their children heires to some of their vertues, as well as of their wealth and passions: but much surpassing them in yeelding credite to their counsellors, to whome they merelie referred the resolution of good or bad, which sometimes they too much put in practice for their owne particular, as well as for the good of the estate. Of which leauing vnto the historie to discover the ouerplus who you will, but deliuer the matter of *Parma*, which reuincing their halfe dead contrariety of affections, feruied vnto them a sufficient occasion and fit meanes to be thoroughly reuenged of whatsoeuer had bene before passed.

Pope *Paul 3.* had exchanged certain of the church lands, by the consent and ratification of the Colledge of Cardinals, with *Parma* and *Plaisance*, in which he inuested his sonne *Pierre Loys Farnese*, and in the end obtained the Emperours consent (for thit in time past they had appertained to the Dutchie of *Milan*.) Vpon condition of some recompence, and the marriage of his naturall daughter with *Ottavian*, eldest sonne to *Pierre Loys*. Who imagining to assure the insolences of his fraile and arrogant life, thorough the rigorous carriage of himselfe, and his strong fortresses which he there built, especially at *Plaisance*, was notwithstanding in the end stabbed in with a Dagger, by the Paluoyfins his Subiects and others as he sate at dinner. But shortly after *Ferdinande Gonzague* Lieutenant for the Emperour in the Dutchie of *Milan* was readie to enter, both with horse and foote to lease of *Plaisance* to the vse of the Emperour, which made men to thinke that he fauoured the plat. So the Pope greatly offended as well at the losse of his sonne, as of his lands, and especially by him who had bene so greatly benefited, by him and his house, to which he was himselfe allied, found no more ready way for the defence of the rest (knowing that a number of the countie about *Parma* yeelded day by day to *Gonzague*, and others for the Emperour) then to send *Camillo Farnese*, one of the Captaines of the Church to *Parma*: being himselfe cleane worne with age, his end the rather hastened by so sorrowfull newes: And seeing himselfe euer ready to depart, ordained by his will that *Parma* should be rendred to his grand childe *Ottavian*, the which was confirmed by *Isabel* the third,

The First Booke.

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The meanes
which *Charles*
the Emperour
vied to get
Parma.

third, before Cardinal of *Mont-Aretin*, chosen Pope after certaine differents which had passed in the conclaue, commaunding *Camillo* to deliuer vnto him the Cittie which he did. Notwithstanding, that the Emperour had earnestly required him to deliuer it into his handes as Protector of the substance of the Church, and besides as Lord of *Millane*, from whence these places had bene dismembred, declaring vnto him the great charge of expence conuenient for the tuition thereof, yea proceeding so farreas to threaten *Camillo* if he did not deliuer it. And seeing he could not by these meanes obtaine it, he offered high rewards to *Ottavian*, who notwithstanding vtterly despised them, fearing like sundrie other he should become cleane frustrate as well of his certaintie, as his hope. The Pope for all that deeply pressed in the end thorough the solliciting of the Emperour, signified vnto *Ottavian* that he would no longer sustaine the expence which hee had promised towards the protection of his dominions. Whereupon, he being greatly astonied, especially for that the other seemed cleane to forget himselfe, hauing receiued his first aduancement from the house of *Farnese*, and considering that his father in law indeuored but his spoyle, in the end besought the King of *Fraunce* to receiue him vnder his protection: Who being perswaded that the action was worthy of commiseration, and that by the example of his ancessors, he ought to shew himself therein ready to succour the afflicted, & about all things a protector of the goods of the Church: first comforted him with a hope of succour, and not being able to bring the Pope to take vp the matter otherwise, he vndertook the defence thereof vpon fauourable conditions, to the Church of *Rome*: so as the French entred there very shortly after, which the Emperour tooke in very euill parte, attributing it to a meere and wilfull breache of Peace so solemnely concluded. The K. notwithstanding to make manifest his entente herein, which he foresawe would bee euill construed of such as were ignorant of his meaning, and chiefly to put out of euery mans head such reproches and backbitings, as by his enemies might be supposed, that he should haue a further end then he would discover, made knowne to all men by two seuerall waies, that banding himself against the Pope and his partakers, he would not be seperate in ought might appertain to the vnion of the church of *Rome*: first by the persecution which he was counsellor to sharpen & double against the Lutheranes, secondly, by his protestations which of his own deliberation he sent, as well to the counsell of *Trent* as dietts, of th' emperour and other christian princes: touching the first he presently made a most sure testimonie thereof, to such as cheeflie desired his enmitie with the Pope, and banding against the Chatholick obedience, for vpon the complaint which the Cleargy made vnto him of the vnbribeled companie of Lutheranes, which encreased to a great eye-sore throughout his Realme, he caused a maruellous rigorous Edict to be made for their searching out, reuealing, condemnation and punishment. The which being made at *Chasteaubriant* where then he was, the 27. of Iune 1551. was called the Edict of *Chasteaubriant*: by vertue whereof all the ancient Edicts which punished Heretiques were reuiued and made in force, the soueraigne knowledge giuen to the *Presidiaux*, to the end to make speedie expedition, and among sundry other articles for the punishing of Printers, Booke-binders, and other sellers of suspected bookes, it was enacted that the Estates of Iudicature thereto ordeyned, and Regentes of Schooles should bee bound to bring prooffe to witnesse that they were well reputed of among good Catholicke Christians: that information should be made against the negligence of such Iudges as slacked their punishment from three moneths to three moneths: that the *Mercuriales* should be in force in soueraigne Courtes, in which should be chieflye

The King of
Fraunce taketh
Ottavian
an *Farnese* &
Parma into
his protection.

Paul 3. dieth
July 3. chosen
Pope.

B 3

handled

handled the points of faith, especiallye for the purging of such faultes as might be found in any suspected of heresie, whereof hee willd information should bee made: the goods of heretiques retired to Geneva, to be confiscate to the King, except good prooffe were made that they were simplicie bought: together with sundry other rigorous articles. Now for that to the end the estate of Fraunce might be the better assured and maintained, the Kings at all times haue bene contented to yeelde this authoritie to that Parliament of Paris (being assembled of the most remarqued Frenchmen, for their knowledge, experience and other vertues, as well Clergie as Laytie) to iudge whether the letters, statutes, Edicts, and ordinances, although they were before resolved of by the Priuie counsell, were fit to be put in practise throughout the Realme, to the end they should be either receiued, published, and engrossed of record in their Courte, or sent backe againe to the King if they were not found iust, reasonable, and aduantageous to the estate: together with their declarations which they must send both in writing and worde of mouth, by some one of their owne body, which to that purpose they dispatch. The Edict was presently carryed to the Kings Counsell (which are his Proctor and 2. Aduocates ordained for his assistance) at the earnest sute of the Clergie, requiring to haue it engrossed of record in the Court, but it was refused for many considerations, which a number of Counsellors alledged, that at that time stood suspected, and since found to bee Lutherans, as heereafter I will declare. In the end notwithstanding by the earnest and continuall instance of the Cardinals and other of the Cleargie about the King, who besides would make him selfe appeare most Christian throughout all Europe, especially for the reasons aboue mencioned, the Court was so pressed, that all the articles of the Edict were there in publique audience read, the 3. of September 1551. in the Chamber called Doree. Of all which *Pierre Segurier* the Kings Aduocate, demanding the ingrossing of the behalfe of the Proctor generall, saide that it was well knowne how the Kings of Fraunce had bene alwaies zealous protectors of christianitie, of the faith and vnion of the Church, for which they worthily deserued the name of most Christian: that there was no doubt but zeale of Religion was one of the principall causes, for which it pleased God to maintaine the estate of that Realme in that greatnes it was vntill that day, that historyes did witnes, among all the misfortunes and unhappines which fell out betwene the Romaine Kings, the raigne of *Numa Pompilius* to haue bene found most long, happie and peaceable, because hee was most zealous in Religion. And *Titus Linius* and *Plutarch* write, *Quod Numa Primus condidit templum fidei: primus fidei solemnem instituit.* And albeit that the Religion of *Numa* was not ruled after the worde of God, yet hauing had so great an increase of good fortune in his Heathenish Religion, it may verie well cause vs to thinke that the care and zeale which the Kings of Fraunce haue had for Christian religion, hath greatlye auailed and helped towards the maintenance and enlarging of the Monarchie of Fraunce. Contrarywise negligence of Religion, the leauing and apostacie of faith, and the scismes and diuisions in the Church, are the beginning and spring of all mischietes, and the forewarning of desolation and ruine to a Common-wealth. The examples are verie common *De neglecta Religione*, both in *Valerius* and other our owne Historyes, as the Bookes of *Moses* doe testifie, that the children of *Israel*, while they helde themselves vnited in the faith of God, and precepts of *Moses*, prospered and ouercame all aduersities, but when they withdrew themselves from religion, they fell into great ruine. The most Christian King considering and well vnderstanding these things, hath studiously & diligently searched by all possible meanes, how the error of the *Pseudo-christians*

Religion well
maintained
preferueth all
estates.

christians might bee extermined, and cleane rooted out of this Realme, and to this end hath commaunded these letters now read, to be approued in this Courte: and further said that he could not omit to yeelde due thanks vnto the King for his most gracious, royall, and most Christian will, moste humblye beseeching God that it would please him to preferue the King in this charitie, deuotion and zeale, many yeares, and hereupon concluded, and required the publication and approuing of the letters, enioyning the Prelates and Cleargy in what appertained to their charge, to obey the contents thereof. Then the Presidente after the counsellors had deliuered their opinions, gaue this sentence. The Court in obeying of the Kings will, ordaineth that vpon the plight of the said letters shalbe set downe, *Lecti, publicati & Registrati, audito & requirente procuratore generale Regis*, and that the Iudges *Presidiaux*, and such as assist them in iudgement of criminall enditements, shall vpon sight thereof cause the prisoners to be brought before them and heare them speake in person, and such iudgements as shall be so giuen by the *Presidiaux* and their assistants, shall not be helde and repured for sufficiently concluded and awarded, except it passe the consent of two at the least, according to the ordinance. And gaue in charge to the Court of the said Iudges, that after iudgement giuen vpon the said criminall enditements, they should make them safely to be kept by such *Greffiers* as the court should appoint, to haue diligent care of the same, to the end they might both deliuer & answer the same, whatsoeuer they should be called vpon. Moreover, he warned & exhorted the Court, the Archbishops, and Prelates that resorted thereunto, enioyning them to keepe and fulfill the contents of the saide letters, in whatsoeuer might concernethem, the 3. of September 1551. Now let vs handle againe the imperials practises against the French: you shal belowe see in place fitter for it, the second meanes which the King had to iustifie himselfe for his actions in the occurrence of Parma.

If the Emperor were angry knowing of the Kings resolution in fauour of the *Farneses*, *Pope Iulye* made no lesse shew thereof, and thereupon the 11. of Aprill hee bitterly accused *Ottavian* by a writing published to that end: When (saide he) he receiued Parma at my hands, and the estate of Supream Gouvernour, hee promised me vpon his faith that he would neuer serue other Prince, nor put any Garrison of Strangers into Parma without my leaue: and as soone as any apparance was of any change, I oftentimes very louingly admonished him by men expressely, and by his own brother the Cardinall *Alexander*, that he should remember his dutie. But because he answered very strangely, I threatned him by letters vnder great paines, if hee should forget himselfe: hoping in time to haue wonne him. But since being aduertised how farr he swarueth from the accord, I haue great cause to be extreamelye angrye, that one whom I had enriched and aduanced to honor, should offer me such an iniurie. Now then though it were lawfull for me to pronounce iudgement in so apparante and cleare a matter, yet to the end to make him know my curtesie, I charge him to appeare at Rome within 30. daies, to answer to his accusations, and to put in good security for his comming: if hereof he make no accompt, I condemne and holde him for guilty of treason, disloyaltie and other crimes, willing and meaning that all his goods shalbe confiscat: for which I require aide of th'emperour, that he will holde a strong hand to helpe me to punish the same, for bidding all in generall to yeelde him any releefe or succour.

The King of Fraunce in the meane time to appease the Pope and his Cardinals, declared by his Embassador *Paul de Termes* of purpose sent vnto Rome, that he was no whit at all to blame for receiuing of *Ottavian* into his protection, considering

Pope Paul
seeketh to re-
taine *Ottavi-*
an *Farnese*.

Paul de Ter-
mes with the
Pope in the
French Kings
behalf.

it a matter proper to the office of Kings to succour the afflicted. Besides, sayth hee, he fought no particular profit to himselfe, but all for the benefit of the Church of Rome, according to the example of his progenitors, which had enriched the same more than all other, and oftentimes defended it: with the sword: for considering that Parma was of the patrimonie of the Church, he would especially seeke to prevent, that it might not fall into the handes of anie stranger, which was the verie reason that hee was at so great & ordinarie an expence. Therefore he earnestly besought him to take it in good part, and not to remaine in that harde opinion hee had conceived of him, a matter which should bring great profite to the commonwealth. But if refusing all satisfaction, he preferred warre before peace, he might wel perceiue the danger which would insue to the whole Church, & to Europe it selfe, in that it was vnpossible in the mean time to assure or establish anie matter of religion, besides the trouble which would fall out among Christians, the Councell summoned coulde not assemble, or if it did, it must of necessitie bee dissolued, for that as the case stode hee shoulde not bee able to sende anie of his Bishops to the Councell of Trent. Aboue all things no fault coulde bee layde vpon him, who not onely desired the conditions of peace, but also was readie to embrace them, the which hee publicly protested. But *Iuly* relying vpon the Emperours promises, would neuer a whit relent for this: but hauing condemned the Duke *Octavian*, as a rebellious vassall of the church, gaue leaue to the Emperour to recouer Parma in what sort hee could. Wherefore *Fernande Gonzague* assembling with all speede the garrisons of Millaine and Piemont, and besides ioynd with the troupes which *John Baptista* lead vnder the Apostolique title and authoritie, began to braue it in the countrie about Parma, and in the end besieged Parma & Mirandolle, which the French sayde were adiudged by *Paul* the fourth, to bee helde vnder the protection of King *Henrie* and his successors, who shortly after sent thither *Horace Farnese*, brother to *Octavian*, with *De Termes*, *D'Andelot*, *Cypierre*, and sundrie other: commanding *Brissac*, his lieutenant in Piemont, to put as many as hee was able into the field, to make *Fernande* raise his siege, and to annoie him as much as in him laie. Which hee so readily performed, that hee tooke *Quiers*, *Saint Damian*, & other places of the Marquisate of Mont-ferrat, readie to haue reached further, if *Gonzague* had not well bestirred himselfe to hinder his enterie into the Dutchy of Millaine. Behold then these Princes which with the fire of their miserable Countrie begin to feeble, or at least to foresee the ruine of their poore subiects.

Now as they might well thinke, that many would easily know and at leasure iudge, that this fire of eternall ambition had soone made them forget the couenants & promises of so generall a peace, of the yeere 1546. so did euerie of them, as well by their writings, as Embassadors into all partes, seeke to laie the fault & first motion of breach of peace vpon his enemy. The king of France to this end, and by the selfe same hand to be meeete with such rumours as his enemies might cause to bee giuen out of him, contrarie to his owne meaning, sent the Abbot of Bellozane to the councell of Trent, where sundrie Princes and Prelates were assembled by the Emperour and Pope *Iuly*, as well for the matter of religion, as affaires of the Empire, and other particulars, the Cardinall *Crescence* there as chiefe in the name of the Pope. The Emperour had sent thither *Frances* of Toledo, *Hugues* Earle of Mont-fort, and *Guillaume* of Poitiers: and for that the Councell daie fell on the first of September, the Abbot presented him selfe there with his Letters addressed to the assembly. After that hee had deliuered them to the Popes Legate, and that the superscription was read, they consulted together, why hee rather termed it an assembly than a councell: some being of opinion

that

that they ought not at all to haue beene received, except the Embassador shewed his warrant for the same. Thereupon arose a great tumult, with a long shouting, which chiefly proceeded from the Spanish Bishops. But when the Embassador answered that his commission was contained in the Letters, the Popes Legate rose vp, and calling the fathers into the priuatest part of the Temple, debated of the matters, where it was agreed that he should bee heard, considering that the superscription might bee as well construed in good part. After then that the Letters had bene read in priuate, by which the King declared in briefe the wrong which was done him, and the displeasure which thereof hee conceived, requiring credite to bee giuen, to whatsoeuer his Embassador should deliuer, they fate all downe againe. And after that the Letters were ther publicly rehearsed, they answered, that they could not take in euill part, the King tearing of the Councell an Assembly, not willing to mistrust anie euill, by so great a King, surnamed Most Christian: that if he should haue anie other intention or meaning, in that case they held them as not written, and so commanded him to deliuer what hee had in charge. Then he began his Oration, which was long, wherein the King recited all that had passed betwene the Pope and the Senate of Cardinals, by his Embassador *Paul de Termes*, and that by no means hee coulde doo anie good, albeir hee had doone as much as in him laie for peace. But that Pope *Iuly*, who by the example of his ancestors ought if not cleane, yet at the least to mitigate the debates and contentions of Princes, had contrarily wilfully lighted a great fire in a most vnseasonable time: to wit, when the state of Christianisme was maruellously weakened, and since it is so that hee carrieth so bitter and deager a heart against him which is the eldest sonne of the Church, hee protested, as before hee had done at Rome. First, that for the great affairs and inconueniences whereof his hands were full, it was neither lawfull nor convenient that anie Bishops of his realme should be suffered to goe to Trent. Besides, that he doth not hold it for a publike & general councell, but rather for a priuate congregation made to sort some mennes particular profite and commoditie, & not for a commonwealth. And that touching anie Decree which they should there make, neither hee nor anie of his realme coulde bee liable, or shoulde bee bound thereto: and farther, that if the matter so required, hee woulde serue himselfe wyth such remedies as his ancestors were accustomed to doo in like cases. True it is, that he woulde alwaies carrie a pure heart, haue a good affection to religion, and the church of Rome, and keepe himselfe from doing ought worthy of reprehension. But forso much as he found himselfe highly grieved at the injuries and haireds of some, which he neuer defected, he could doo no otherwise for the present time, & that they should take this his protestation in good part, & make him an act whereby he might informe all other Princes and Christians of all that had bene passed. The Kings Letters being read, the fathers sayde that they woulde answer him in the first Session, provided that the King should acknowledge it for a councell which was held at Trent, as touching that which then passed, they received it as faire forth as the lawe woulde permit. Wherefore they could not deliuer vnto him any act or testimonie whatsoeuer.

Whereas the King said, that hee woulde vse the remedie his ancestors were wont to practise, it grew thus. In France as well as other countries, if anie Bishopricke or Abbeie became voyde, those where they learned Chanons or Monkes had libertie to chooe: the other Benefices which were not electiue, were bestowed by the Bishops and Patrones, and all suites for matter of Benefices were determined each one in his owne prouince. But the Popes by litle and litle beganne cleane to alter these elections, and to drawe for themselves all the profit to Rome, by reseruations and expecta-

tatiue

The French
Embassadors
oration in the
Councell of
Trent.

The choise of
Bishops and
Clergie de-
nied to the
Pope.

The French
king tearmeth
the Councell
of Trent but
an assembly.

tanue graces, and caused all suites to bee brought together, euen at the first instance. This change began in France in the time of *Lewis* the ninth, who notwithstanding stoutly resisted it, by the advice of his Councell and Parliament, and made an ordinance in the yeere 1267. by which hee commanded the ancient custome should be maintained; and for all that no man to paie ought to the Pope, which lawe stode in force many yeeres after. But the authoritie of the Popes became in the end mistresse, scattering among the Clergie throughout Christendome their graces and reuerations, which were most chargeable and odious vnto euery man, untill the Councell of Basle viterly abolished this manner of taking, relying vpon the ancient lawes of collations and elections, and forbidding the exaction of *Annates*. So as *Charles* the seuenth after that hee had summoned a Councell of the choicest men of all his realme, approved that Decree of the Councell, and in the yeere 1438. confirmed it by an Edict, which was commonly called *La Pragmatique Sanction*. Yet afterwarde *Eugene* the fourth pronounced this councell of no valour, so as the Popes which since succeeded, haue viterly refused this Decree, & named it *Schismaticall*. Yea Pope *Pius* the second, sent his Embassadour to *Lewis* the eleventh sonne of *Charles* the seuenth, by whom he tooke and naile insisted to make *La Pragmatique Sanction* to be abolished. But he king tooke councell of the Parliament of Paris, which is the most renowned of all France, composed of learned personages and experiched in the Ciuill and Canon lawe, and in matters of estate, or other publike charge. Who fetching many things from the antiquitie and ordinances of the verie Popes themselves, and Councells in time pasted, allcadding lyke wise what his predecessors *Clodoveus*, *Charlemagne*, *Philippe Deshardine*, *Lewis* the ninth, *Philip le Bel*, *Louis Hutin*, *John* the first, & finally what his ownie grandfather had ordained therein. And taking occasion thereby to shew how exceedingly France then prospered, and how in present shee was desolate and weakened, deliuered vnto him boldly, that if the ancient lawes should not remaine in force, all order of the Clergie would come to vtter confusion, and that France would bee in the end left cleane vnhabited, by reason many retired themselves to Rome, by litle and litle sucking out the whole treasure of the realme, whence would issue that the Churches and such like buildings would in the end be viterly ruined throughout the whole realme. As concerning the treasure, sayd they, if the lawe of your Father take not place, there will yeerely bee transported to Rome a million of golde. For omitting the rest in the time of Pope *Pius*, at the least twentie Bishoppricks were voyde, whereof euery one payde as wel for the *Annates*, as other charges, six thousand crownes: about three score Abbeyes, whereof euery one payde two thousande, and aboue two hundred other Benefices, of which euery one payde aboue one thousand crownes. Besides, that there is in your realme more than an hundred thousand parishes, from which a masse of monie is drawn by this inuention of the Popes. Followe then your Fathers traces, and sticke fast to the Decree of Basle. Such was the counsell which the Parliament gaue him. But the Kinge overcome with the authoritie or subtiltie of the Pope, ordainned the abolishing of *La Pragmatique Sanction*, by meanes of the Cardinall *Balue*, one verie familiar about the King, and deeply bound to the Pope. Notwithstanding the Kings Proctor generall, and the Vniuersitie of Paris, which had a greate interest therein, courageously withstood it, and appealed from the Pope to a Councell. *Lewis* the twelfth was at great oddes with *Iulie* the second about the same, and it was referred to the Councell of Latran. But *Frances* the first agreed thereunto, vpon certaine conditions with *Leo* the tenth, in the Citie of Bologne la Grasse, after that hee had gained all Lombardie. To wit, that a Bishopricke or Abbey becoming voyde, the Chapter

The enacting
of La Pragmatique
Sanction

should not haue power to choose, but that it should appertaine to the King, to name some one within fixe moneths to the Pope, which he thought meet for such a charge. This was the matter which the King ment, when hee spake of a remedie by his Embassadour: for this was the raigne wherewith the Kings euer bridede the Popes, and when they fall a quarrelling with them, they presse to haue *La Pragmatique Sanction* reuiued, cheefely in this time in which Popes commaundementes are not so much reuerenced as heretofore they haue beene: and in respect that Fraunce is large and rich, Rome cannot wel misse the mony without great losse. Now the King since performed in deed, what he threatned heere to Pope *Iulie*, as we will handle hereafter. *Philip le Bel* King of Fraunce, vsed the same remedie against *Boniface* the eight, for becau'e that he had charged him to passe the Seas, and to make warre against the *Sarracins*, not taking in good parte his excuses, hee forbad him to leuie any monye vpon the Churches, (which the King of necessitie was constrained to doe) and if he would not obey, excommunicated him. The King sent for all his Lords and estates of his Realme to Paris, where after hauing discoursed of the outrage of *Boniface*, and that all the Bishops, Princes, and Gentlemen confessed that they helde all their substance mecrely of his grace, bounty, and liberalitie, he forbad that any mony after should be transported to Rome, and to that end caused a diligent watch to be kept in all the entries and passages. The summe which was found in the account of the Parliament of Paris, of that which the Bishoppricks and Abbies being voyde did paye, must be vnderstoode of the time passed, for at this present the Taxes are augmented, and passe the annuall reuenues, so as some of the Clergie haue beene faine to leaue their Buls in the banquers hands for the ouer-great exaction. Now there are in Fraunce twelue archbishoppricks, Aix, Vienne, Lyons, Narbonne, Tholouze, Bourdeaux, Aux, Bourges, Tours, Rouen, Reims, and Sens: there are about 96. Bishoppricks, by the vacancies of which is carried to Rome a masse of monye, and of the Archbishoppricks about threescore thousand, three hundred crownes, as it is apparant by an account made in the time of King *Lewis* the twelfth.

Hereupon the King of Fraunce not content with the rigorous pursuities hee renewed against the Lutheranes, to the end that notwithstanding the warre hee was resolu'd of against the Pope, he might entertaine the Catholicke Princes in good opinion of his faith and Catholicke religion, would make further shewe of his dutie, and iust occasions of warre, by a writing sent vnto the Pope, of whose deepe grace hee stode well assured: declaring therein what iniurye was doone him. The cause of the warre of Parma, and why receiuing of *Ottavian* into his protection, he forbad vnder great penaltie any mony to be transported to Rome: for considering that monye was the very sinew of warre, what follye were it saide hee to nourishe a mans enemye with his owne wealth? The propertie of Popes was to pacifie quarrelles among Kings, which Pope *Paul* the third did, who altogether creeping with age, came as farre as Nice into the Country of Genes, to reconcile his late Father to the emperour. But *Iulie* ranne a cleane contrary course, for hauing no sooner published the counsell most necessary for the common-wealth, he presently mooued a warre, whereby the French Church one of the most principall of Christendome, was cleane excluded: requiring a lawfull counsell might be summoned, to amend as wel the faults of the Prelates and other Ministers of the Church, as a number of other things being there handled, to correct the vices of euery one. This was published at Paris by found of Trumpet the seuenth of September: anon after hee had proclaimed the Edict of *Chasteau-Briant* against the Lutheranes. Shortly after, the Imperial

22. Articles in
Fraunce.

The K. letters
and complaints
against the
Pope.

rials caused the cleane contrary to be giuen out and proclaimed, in which the beginning of the warre of Parma was specified, where hauing shewed how great reason the Pope had to be angry with *Ostauian* and the Lord of Mirandolle, how contrary the King of Fraunce was bent, that sought all occasions and wrought all meanes to hinder the most honest enterprises of the Emperour, gaue notwithstanding to wit, that *Charles* of Austria who helde his practises for little worth, would most courageously and stoutly pursue the ende thereof. And whereas *Ostauian* gaue out, that he was constrained by necessitie to put himselfe vnder the safegarde and protection of the King of Fraunce, by reason of the outrages and prances of *Ferdinand Gonzague*, it was cleane refuted, for had there beene any occasion of feare (quoth the Emperour) he was the mortye, who had often sought meanes to cause him to be killed: it was after declared how *Plaisance* was rendred vp to th' Emperour, by reason that *Pierre Louis* the Popes Bastard, enioying Parma and *Plaisance*, behaued himselfe so cruelly in his gouernement, that hee drew the wrath of God vpon him, and euery mans hatred: by the example of *Nero*, especiallye for his execrable wickednes, not onely with women, but very men: wherefore hee was most iustly murdered in his owne house by the Cittizens, which could not endure his cruelty any longer. This doone, the inhabitants for seeing their apparant and imminent danger, if they should fall againe into the subiection of the Pope and Church of Rome, could finde no other refuge or more assured libertie, then to render themselves to the Emperour: namely, hauing beene at other times vassalles of th' empire: they solicited then *Gonzague* and praied him to receiue them into the Emperours protection, otherwise they would thinke of some other succour and defence: it is but counterfait then in making semblance of feare, for the Emperour neuer gaue him occasion, as one that had greatly benefitted the *Farneses*, hauing cholen *Ostauian* for his sonne in law, and giuen the Citie of *Nouarre* for euer to his father *Louis*, and bestowed on him the honor of *Marquesse*: but both of them oftentimes shewed themselves maruelously vngratefull, and especially when they made shew of ayding him against certain rebels of Germany, for in the meane time they endeouored to take from him both *Lombardie*, and *Gennes* it selfe: for prooffe whereof *Ioannin Dorie* a vertuous man, if euer were any was most villanously murdered in the tumulte, while he faithfully employed himselfe for the Emperour, and sought to deliuer the Countrey from that daunger into which he saw it most ready to fall: there was shortly after an answer put in print vnder the name of the King of Fraunce, in which was rehearsed how the Emperour desiring to winne vnto him *Paul* the third, had bestowed vpon his sonne *Pierre Louis*, the tytle and dignitie of *Marquesse*, had taken *Ostauian* sonne to *Pierre* for his sonne in law, yeelding goodly benefites to *Alexander* his other sonne, besides which he had made an alliance with the Pope, wherein was especially set down, that the Emperour should confirme the decree of the consistory of Cardinals, namely, that the Emperour should confirme the principalltie of Parma and *Plaisance* to the familie of *Farneses*. Now whereas the Emperour made warre in Germany, punishing some priuate rebellions vnder pretence of setting vp of religion: this sleight meruailously displeased the Pope, considering by this meanes he shewed well enough that hee had no regarde but to his peticular profit, and making of himselfe great. And in truth saide the King, the Pope was no whit therein misconceiued, for as soone as the warre was finished, and the Emperour no more in need of the *Farneses* aide, he publicly declared his euill meaning conceiued against the Pope: for his Liutenants of Italie had already found meanes to compass *Plaisance*, and anon after murderers

The Kings
swere to the
Emperours
obedience.

thers were hired to kill *Pierre Louis* in his chamber: and before that euer the Cittizens had notice of the murther, men of warre were sent in to seaze of the Castle in the name of the Emperour, who if he had beene so ignorant of the fact, it had bene great reason that after the death of Pope *Paul*, he should haue sought the deliuey of the Citie to the Church of Rome: but so farre was he from it, as he went about to take Parma out of the hands of his owne Nephewe, yea while Pope *Paul* liued, hee made pursuite thereof, in such sort that *Paul* taking a conceite thereat died for griefe. Afterwardes Ruffians were found at Parma, which of their owne accorde confessed that *Fernande Gonzague* had giuen them in charge to murther *Ostauian*. He then perceiving himselfe in this distresse, that such as ought to haue preferred him, yea his own father in law, sought to take from him not only his substance but his life, demanded succour of the King, and yeilded himselfe into his handes, which hee could not by any meanes gain say, pressed thereunto by so many teares and reasons. The case standing thus, and for these occasions all the Princes being animated, euery one bestirred him to doe the worst he could against his enemy. Captaine *Powlin* hauing in readines his galleys and flete at *Marseilles*, furnished and victuailed for Scotland, tooke certaine Merchants Ships of Flaunders, vpon the English Sea, the which hee rifled, alledging that vnder colour of traffique, they transported the victuall and munition of the Realme, to make themselves the better able to preuaile against Fraunce. Else where the Gouernours of the frontiers prepared themselves openly to the war: the Queene of Hungary in like sorte being gouernesse for her Brother in the Lowe countrey, made stay of all Frenchmen and their goods, neere at the same time, that th' Emperour discharging of *Marillac* Ambassador for the King about his person, with many hard and angry speaches against his Maister, had resolved to passe an armie into Fraunce, to be reuenged of the wrong which he saide he had sustained. And because it was doubted that hee would enter by Champagne, where *Bourdillon* was with certaine Troupes, the Duke of *Neuers* was sent thither with 10. companies of men at armes, which hee distributed for the better strengthening of the weaker Garrisons, providing as well as he could for the fortifications and munitions of those places, where he bestowed the eight olde bandes which the King had sent vnto him: while it was thus in working, they put out into the fieldes, to be the better able to put in execution some suddaine surprisales, according to their olde intelligences, whereof very few tooke good effect. Then eche partie tartying for the maine of his armye, made many little skirmishes, now with good, and now with bad fortune, as well on the one side as the other. In the meane time happened the defeat of a number of *Bourgonians*, which the company of *Gasper de Coligny* called *Chastillon*, defeated neere vnto Montcornet in Ardennes: leauing fife hundred dead on the place, for recompence whereof, other making a shew but of a small company of Harquebusiers, presenting themselves neere vnto Maubert-Fontaine, charged and killed in an ambuscade, the Captaine *Gourdes*, accompanied with fife and twenty olde souldiers, too ventrous and ill aduised, in not tarrying for *Bourdillon* and his people, who being arriued after their death, followed the *Bourgonians*, already rettyred safe by the benefite of the wood, into which for want of Harquebusiers, they could not hinder more then two partes of them that had the victorie, to retire in surety: as *Maxeres* stode in great want of prouisions, ioyned thereto that a Souldier loueth best to get from the enemy, and keep his own for his necessitie: Captaine *Villefranche* hauing in the night planted a number of matches fiered, vpon the toppe of the Castles Ditches at Lumes, while that the Imperials discharged at them both Harquebusiers,

sies, Culuerins, and other shotte, tooke all the cattell and other prouisions which the inhabitants kept by fauour of the Portes: out of which, some of the most couragious hauing sallyed by little, saw theselues so bepeltd with Harquebusies, that they were constrained to let their prouisions be carried to Maizieres. But the *Burgonians* hauing surprisid the Cattle of Aspremont, which the yong Earle yeelded vp to the Duke of Neuers, and in a course killed Captaine *Ligneris*, and defeated the greatest part of his company betweene Hedin and Monstreuille, greatly bragged that they had beene so well reuenged. At the same time the Garrisons of Pickardie vnder the Duke of Vendosme, and his brothers the Duke of Anguien and Prince of Conde, were no lesse often and painefully awakened, then those of Champagne all the long winter, in which their masters notwithstanding were busied about more high enterprises the those before mentioned, as I will make you well to perceiue.

Beholde these Princes hard at it, and the originall and preparation of their quarrels: whereupon I think good before that I passe any further to fetch the affaires of the Christians from more high, to the end I may not giue any occasion that should turne you from the knowledge of that which I will entreate of: for as I speak of war, of Religion, pollicie and other humane actions, when you shall see the Counsell of Trent mentioned, and not know to what end, when, nor by whome it was helde: the Lutheranes & obstinate pursued with fire and bloud, of the time wherof you should be ignorant, and of the places where they came into the worlde, by whome, and in what doctrine they stood instructed: if I speak of the Protestantes banded against so great Potentates, and you not know whence they descended, nor why their Father was so named, nor the variable successe of their enterprises, nor how, nor why they were succoured by the Kings of Fraunce, England, and other Princes, with a number of things which would remaine vnknowne vnto you, for that you could not vnderstand their beginning and progresse, you would take very small delight therein: at the least you will take double contentment, if all the whole be made manifest and plaine, as you would your selfe desire: since then that the knowledge of naturall things content not the spirite, if the cause and reason thereof rest vnknowne amidst many accidents, a somewhat lesse agreeable discourse, by reason of the ignorance of their originall, shall satisfie the more curious sorte, if in representing therein vnto you their very spring and true motive, I shall not fetch it from ouer farre.

As the iudgements of men are diuers and oftentimes contrary, so is there not any thing so common or generall whatsoeuer, that receiue not alteration in some particular, which may easily be seene in all vocations, especially in the doctrine which all embrace to the conduct of their saluation. For to holde my peace of the diuersitie which is among the Christians, half Christians, Mahometits, Iewes Paganes and other, yea of the multitude of different and contrarie opinions, which is in euery one of them, it hath bene euer seene, that Christendome how generall soeuer it hath at any time beene, was alwaies set at controuersie by some pericullar iudgement: now in matter of substance, now in discipline, now in ceremonies and outward apparances, be it that it proceede of ignorance or of a good zeale, of malice or some indiscretion of persons, which aduance themselves to speake. And if wee shal seeke further examples then the memory of our fathers, it is most certaine that religion planted in Fraunce in the time of the Pagans, growne vnder the lynce of *Clouis*, was no sooner established vnder *Pepin* and his successors, but the authoritie and consequently abuse of certaine of the Clergie, encreasing with the abundance of wealth, the zeale and curiositie of such as would reforme the discipline and life of the officers, encouraged

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men by litle and little to attempt to the substance, and some to band themselves secretly and by writings, others with open mouth, against the Articles of doctrine, which they little iudged of, lesse vnderstoode, or worse practised. As notwithstanding the Pastors confirming their generall receiued doctrine, by a better life then ours, authorized both by one and the other thorough a seuerer punishment of iustice, to the example of euery one, so the reformation being hindered to grow by the diligence and studie of the Bishops and iustices, it could not spread so farre but that at this day, (when all estates are onely curious of their pleasure and particular profit) they haue themselves giuen entrie to what they most complained off & least doubted. So many held their peace, and the hardest could not gaine so much, as to make any other opinion runne among the people then the common, vntil that the officers of the Church and iustice, surprisid in their dutie, by such as spied but an occasion fit to giue entrie vnto their opinions, saw themselves sooner beaten then assailed, by those whose very first March they alwaies before despised. Then after manye and light brunts with the common faith receiued in Fraunce, (since the sure and publicke establishmentes of Christian Religion) by *Berenger* of Tours, *Abeyllard* Breton, *Amaury* of Chartres, *Arnold* of Bresse, and other, followed by a great number of Sectaries as well in this Realme as else where, it neuer was so earnestly assaulted as by the *Vaudois* and their successors in Guienne and Countries about, which they named Albigeois of the towne of Alby chiefe of Albigeois, situate betweene Languedos and Quercy. Who in spight of all the Potentates of Christendome sowed about the yeare 1100. and euen since their doctrine smally differing from the Protestants at this day: Not onely through Fraunce, but almost all the Countries of Europe. For the French, Spanish, English, Scots, Italians, Germaines, Bohemians, Saxons, Polonians, Lithuanians and other people haue mightily defended it vntill this present; After that this doctrine had a while crept thorough Fraunce, in the end as the heate of burning coles doth exhale and pearce thorough by little and little, the thickest of the Sinders not able to quench it, it grew more commonly knowne, by Prayers, publike exhortations, administrations of Sacraments and other vses, the course wherof the Clergie not being able to hinder, sought vnder the authoritie of the Pope, aide and force at the hands of Christian Princes, whome they speedily armed against the Albigeois. Whom after a number of assaults, battels, rencontres, losses, ruines, victories and reciprocal aduantages, from the yeare 1200. For 50. yeares after euer maintaining by armes and force the outward shew of their liues, their doctrine and their Countrie together, vntil that the chiefe of them were defeated and empouershed, other gained by faire protestations & promises of better hap, and all in generall together wearie with the continuance of so long Ciuil warres: The Christian Princes and Prelars of the Church lest (as in contempt) a wandering people of all parts terrified with so cruell a warre, insisting in their first opinion, which rather the ease of the rest they after felt: caused them to change, then any rigour of their enemies. So as all the French anon after returned to the same doctrine, from which their fathers had so much swarued, except such as retired themselves into the mountaines, chiefly the *Prouencaux*, *Sauoyarts*, *Dauphinois*, and *Piemontois*: of whome there were many sent into Lombardie, Calabria, Pouille, Sicille, Germaine and other places, to the end they might plant the fruite of that doctrine which they stooode assured was the most true & auncient of Christendome. Now the English was Lord of Guienne in the time of these Albigeois wars, by reason that *Henrie* of Aniou after the death of *Stephen* became king of England, Duke of Normandie, Earle of Aniou

How the doctrine of the Vaudois and Albigeois was dispersed thorough Europe

Opinions sooner changed by ease and rest then violence

The English
Lords of Gui-
enne in France
Normandie,
Poictou, An-
jou, &c.

The Religion
of the Vau-
dois dispersed
through Eng-
land.

VVickliffe his
Doctrinne.

Lollards in
England, Li-
monia, Serna-
tia, &c.

How the doc-
trine of the
Vaudois and
Wickliffe was
carried into
Polonia, Bo-
hemia, and
other coun-
tries of Al-
maine.

The Bohemi-
ans and Al-
maines perse-
cuted by the
Popes inquir-
itors before
Iohn Hus.

Tourraine and Maine. And afterwards grew to be Earle of Poictou and Duke of Aquitaine (called Guienne) by vertue of *Eleonor* his wife daughter to *Guillaume*, last Earle of Poictou, whom king *Louys le Tenne* had diuorced. So as sundry English men, which ordinarily came into those countries, either by reasons of trafique and marchandise, or warre against the French, had speedely enough being imbrued with the same opinions, spread them abroad in their owne Countrey: Which hauing beene conceiued and explained by manie, in the end fell from hand to hand into the heade of *Wickliffe*, about 50. yeares after, a greatly renowned Diuine in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and Curate of Luteruorth in the Diocesse of Lincolne. Who in the end being a Doctor in Diuinitie thorough his eloquence and rare Doctrinne, gained so farre the harts and vnderstandings of the English, and chiefly of the greatest sorte, as the Duke of Lancaster vncle to king *Richard*, *Henrie* of Perſye, *Lewes Clifford*, the Chauncellor *Kegli*, the Earle of Sarisburie & others, as a long time after he preached, wrought and dispersed with all libertie what best seemed good vnto him. Most chiefly vnder King *Edward*. True it is that Pope *Alexander* thorough the sollicitings of the chiefe of the Clergie, animated *Richard* his successor, much against him in the yere 1382: Who preuailed so farre, that after sundrie disputations of the Articles of his faith, hee was banished, afterwards called home, and dyed. 1387. But 40. yeares after his decease, his body was puld out of the grounde by the Popes commandement, and his bones burned at Oxford 1410. before the Abbot of Shrewsberie then Chancelor. And albeit that 13. yeares after his death, 1401. his doctrine was vtterly condemned in open Parliament, with an Iniunction to all men to seeke out those Lollards, (so called they such as professed that order of doctrine, according vnto those of Pologne, and borders vnto it) yet for all that, could it not hinder the multiplying thereof as well in that Countrey as else where. Chiefely in Germanie, by reason of the great learning which was taught by the famous Fathers of the Vniuersitie of Oxford: Where among other, a Scholer of Bohemia, being much delighted in a booke of *Wickliffe* called *The Vniuersales*, caried a Coppie thereof with him into his Countrey, where the Vniuersitie of Prague was of great commendations. In which *Iohn Hus* more renowned then the rest for his quicknes of spirite, made himselfe for all that much better knowne after the reading of those bookes: which he explained and so much thereby encreased the doctrine which long since was spread abroad in those quarters, that many of the people, Scholers, and of the very Nobles and Clergie themselves, followed the same as a matter worthy to bee receiued among men. Now among the rest of the people which for their conscience were persecuted, the Bohemians had beene long before *Iohn Hus*, by *Venceſlaus* King of Bohemia, who made great search after them & roundly punished them. And by the Pope, who long before that, had sent thither an inquisitor of the ill affected of the faith, who (*Iohn Hus* liuing) was named Bishop of Nazaret. Be it then that the persecutions either cooled this kinde of people thorough our Christendome, or that the Princes and Cleargie made no account of those, who standing fauoured by no great personages became all simple people and inhabitants of the Montaignes, as those of Piemont, Sauoye, Calabria, and other, the Bohemians stode at that instant most renowned and worst ment to. Especially after that *Hus* had reformed his preaching, leassons and writings by the tradition of *Wickliffe*. So as in the yere, 1414. the Councell being summoned at Constance, for the controuersie of the Popes, and reformation of the Cleargie, *Iohn Hus* a Batchelor in Diuinitie, to the end to purge himselfe of the heresie which was laide to his charge, was cited thither by the Pope, and after hauing refused to come, accounting it no safe or sure place, hee

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was perswaded by *Sigismund* the Emperour that they might safely goe thether and returne againe, at the request of his brother *Venceſlaus* King of the Countrey: and besides that *Venceſlaus* of Dube, and *Iohn De Chlum* Gentlemen of Pologne, should accompany him. But so farre was hee from being suffered to present himselfe to the assembly of the Councell, to render accounte of his faith as the Emperour and his brother would haue had it, that the Cardinals clapt him vp close prisoner: & cleane contrarie to the earnest requests, which not onely many Gentlemen of Bohemia, but the very Vniuersitie of Prague made, that he might not bee condemned before hee were publickly hard. But in the end the Emperour being perswaded, that there could bee no defence, safe conduct or other meanes yeelded to him, which had beene already condemned as an heretique, and especially a Protestant, publike protest, and that he ought rather to prepare woode and fire to consume him into ashes, if he would not decline from his obstinacie, the seuenth of Iuly presiding amidst al the Princes & Prelates with his imperiall robes in the great temple of Constance, after certaine Articles there drawne out of his writings as hereticall, one of the deputies which examined him, pronounced that the Councell declared him for an heretique, a Disciple and fauourer of *Wickliffe*, whose books had beene already burnt by a Councell at Rome, that he was wilfull in his heresies, for the appeale which he had cast in from the Councell to *Iesus*, reproving his appellation as scandalous and iniurious to the Popes authoritie and Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction: and therefore hee was to bee disgraced of his Priestly order, with all infamie and reproch, afterwarde the Bishops attired him in a profane garment and estate, and gaue him a crowne of Paper one cubite high, painted with three blacke and ougly Deuils, hauing for deuise *Heresiarcha* as one shoulde saye the chiefe and Prince of heretiques. This doone the Emperour into whose handes the Cleargie had put him, as the secular arme, commanded D. *Louis* of Bauiere, kneeling before him with his ornament in his hand an Apple of Golde and the figure of the Crosse) to deliuer him to the hangman, who hauing burned his bookes, and tyed him fast with an yron cheane to a stake, piled vp with woode and strawe to his chinne, soone consumed him to ashes, which they srong into the Rhine, to the end no more memorie should remaine of him. Hereupon the Princes for to remedie all abuses, and replante the Church in her first glorie, deposed Pope *Iohn* 24. of that name, as a Simonous heretique, and man-flaier, who fled disguised to Scafusen, and from thence to Fribourg in Brisgoe: But being taken in the fift yere of his Pontificate, was three yeares kept prisoner. *Gregorie* who likewise had held him selfe for Pope, dismissed himselfe of the popedom. And *Pierre de la Lune* named Pope *Benoist*, was condemned for sundrie offences. *Iohn Gerson* Chauncellor of the Vniuersitie of Paris (which had sent him with others to Constance) sayde that neuer there woulde bee any Peace in the Church vntill the Moone were taken awaie. *Martin* the fift of that name before called *Ame de Sauoye*, was chosen and approued of all.

Hierosme of Prague companion to *Iohn Hus*, vnderstanding of his entertainment, departed out of Bohemia, and the 4. of April 1415. arriued neere Constance to comfort him, and offered to answer all such iniuries in open councell as were giuen out of them of Bohemia, if they would giue him any safe-conduct: which being refused by the Emperour, he contented himselfe in obtaining of the Lords and Protector of Bohemia, their letters sealed with their seales, witnesing his innocencie, and that he was come to answer such reproches as his aduersaries had giuen out: but as hee thought to haue returned, hee was taken and carried to Constance, where he was so straightly vied and examined, that in the end hee publickly reheard a forme of ab-

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Councell of
Constance
summoned
for the refo-
rmation of the
Church.

Iohn Hus, con-
demned, and
burnt as an
heretique at
Constance,
notwithstan-
ding the Em-
perours safe
conduct.

Popes depo-
sed.

Ierome of
Prag, condem-
ned and burn-
ed at Con-
stance as
Iohn Hus.

iuration, which they deliuered vnto him, confessing further that *Iohn Hus* was lawfully punished. But as they let him goe neuer a whit the sooner for that, and thereupon certaine *Carmos* of Bohemia being come with new accusations, he recanted and sticke so fast to his first opinion, that the councell condemned him as before they did *Iohn Hus*, whence he appealed vnto *Iesus Christ*: so that (said hee) after one hundred yeares you shall make account for me: but the hangmen did as much for him as the other. *Pope Florentin* being present at all, greatly commended in a wrighting which he sent vnto *Leonard Aretin*, the eloquence, grace, knowledge, and marvellous constancie of *Hierosme*: thinking nothing wanting in him but a conformitie of the common faith. Now when these newes were carried into Bohemia, such Gentlemen and other as had beene instructed in this doctrine, growing marvellous angrye, sent their letters to the Princes and Prelates of *Constance*, to testifie their conceiued displeasure, and their resolution to persist in the same opinion euen to the death and cost of the most mischieuous, foure and fiftie of the best calling signed and sealed it with their seales. And indeed as rigours onely doe not cause men to change opinion, but oftentimes make them more wilfully to persist therein: the *Husite* Bohemians multiplying more and more, besought of their King *Venceslaus* many Temples, in which they might exercise and aduance their doctrine, being such a number of people as hourly were gained, among the rest *Iohn Zizka* of Troinovie, one of the most renowned warriors that followed the King, and which had lost one of his eyes in the former factions, leuiued a number of men to the ruine of as many Priests and Monkes as they found to haue beene authors of the matter of *Constance*: and so began to pulldowne Temples, bruse the Images, throwe downe the Monasteries, and pull out the Monkes, whome they named Swine fattened in their Cloister: finally in smal time were assembled more then fortie thousand men, maintaining the doctrine of *Iohn Hus*. In the mean while *Sigismond* the Emperour, & true heire to the kingdom of Bohemia by the decease of his Brother, going thither to take possession, found all passages shut by the people, who extreemly hated him for breach of his faith: so as after many a good and badde reencounter on the one side and the other, he lost his other eye likewise at the siege of Rabi, and yet ceased not for all that to conducte and gouerne his army, yea oftentimes breaking the troupes of *Sigismonde*, composed of Hungarians, Bohemians, Morauies, Almanes and Danes: for *Eric* King of Denmarke was come thither to succour him, with *Pierre* Infant of Portugall, in sorte that the Emperour perceiving that hee could not otherwise remedye it, gained him by faire promises of graunting vnto him what charge soeuer he would require. But *Zizka* as hee was going to the Emperour dyed of the Plague, and being asked in his sicknesse where hee would be buried, answered that he would haue them flea his body after his death, and with his skinne head a Drumme, at the sounde whereof hee doubted not but all his enemies would soone betake them to their heeles.

From this time forwards the persecutions cōtinued in the church, almost throughout all Christendome, at the pursute of the Inquisitors who were animated enough against the ill affected in the faith, but more againe some perticular and simple people then persons of marke, vntill the comming of *Luther*, which then they the more augmented as they saw mens faith, beleefe and charitie, to diminish towards men of the Church: so as the Christian faith being receiued and oppugned almoste in euerye countrey, though in some one lesse sharply then other (where great ones countenanced them out, by credit, force of arms, and other means) you may not finde it strange if the religion lesse common and more secret, seeking in all times and places but occa-

sion

The Bohemians angrye, growe more resolute by the death of Hus and Hierom.

Captain Zizka leuieth men against the Priests & Monkes of Bohemia.

Luther & his beginning
1518.

sion and meanes fit to liste vp and spread it selfe abroad, knew well how to take her time in the end 1518. to make her selfe knowne by the negligence of the Germaine Prelates, and the diligence and hardines of *Luther*, who reuiuing of these olde opinions, and adding thereunto what before but by the ignorance of the simple people he thought omitted, afterwards explaining the same by a well ordered deliuary, and expressing it in his Sermons and wrightings, through his eloquence and doctrine, discovered vnto vs such a kinde of reformation, as hath engendred more strange effectes then euer any man could see, read, or vnderstand to haue bene practised in any other place. Now for that the particulars are very memorable and worthy to be left to the posteritie, I am contented to fetch the narration therof, from the first originall, to the ende I would not leaue any thing vnto you, which might staye you from the entire knowledge of so notable accidents, as vpon this occasion made all christendome both admire and stand wonderfully astonied.

The pardons which Pope *Leo* published throughout the world, 1517. to get money, and prouide for a warre pretended against the Turke, were an occasion together with the abuses his Treasurers offred in the leuying thereof, (as the most learned and notable writers as well of Germany as Italy hath left) that *Luther* first declared himselfe an enemy to the ouercharging of consciences, then a Censor of Popes and ecclesiasticall abuses, to reforme in the ende the more receaued doctrine in the Christian Church, for first he found himselfe agreede at the pardons, next banded himselfe against the insolencies of Receiuers, and hauing put in question the autoritye of the Pope, which defended them, he came by little and little cleane to contemne the doctrine of the Church of Rome: next to reforme it, and in the end vterly to reiecte it. Now as *Leo* (say they) vsed too licentiously the authoritie of the Romish Sea, chiefly in such graces as the Court gaue of spirituall and beneficiall matters, by the councell of *Laurens Pucy* Cardinall of the title of 4. Sains, so hee scattered throughout, without distinction of time or place, his generall pardons of pleanary remission, as well for the quicke as the dead: and deliuered soules out of the paines of Purgatory. And because such fauours were deliuered so there were money, and that the Treasurers bought their offices at the Popes handes, and that little which did come vnto his hands was spent badly enough in other affaires, that hee sawe many of his Ministers sell for small price, yea play away at Tauernes, power to deliuer soules out of Purgatory, and that the Pope (who by the meekenes of his owne nature, exercised in many things his pontificall office with little enough Maiestie) had at one blowe giuen vnto his sister *Magdelaine* the profit of such Indulgences as might be reaped in sundry Countries of Germany, who deputed for her the Bishop *Arebaut*, that executed his charge but with too much couetousnes and extortion: and that *Leo* had permitted the King of Fraunce, to vse the last payments of his own Realme as should please him vntill the warre against the Turke, all sauing 50. thousand crowns which he gaue to *Laurence de Medicis* his Nephew. *Luther* a Regent Doctor in diuinitie, thought the he had read, scene, and heard enough to despise such Indulgences, and to be able to taxe therein the authoritie of the Pope: but afterwards a great number of Auditors running thither, to the end they might heare some noueltie to delight them, the popular winde, no lesse then the fauour of the Duke of *Saxe*, one of the electors of the Empire, and the greatest landed of all Germany, so egged him forward that hee did not only band himself against the power of the Popes, and authoritie of the Church of Rome, but yeelding himselfe to the anger conceiued, for the iniuries and sharpe pursuites of the Receiuers, and such as spurned against him, hee grew in the ende to

B 4

make

Generall pardons published through Christendome
1517.

make open warre against the doctrine of the Church. The Pope as they say bestirred himselfe well in the beginning for to quench this fire, but not vſing the proper remedies & medicines, he did but impaire ſo great a maladie, for he cited *Luther* to Rome, he forbad him to preach, and after ſeeing of his diſobedience, he gaue him ouer to the cenſure of the Church, neuer himſelfe in all this time abſtaining from many things of euill example: which hauing bene with reaſon blamed by *Luther*, were by his Sermons, leſſons, and writings, rendred a great deale more odious to euery man: ſo as proceeding againſt him with Eccleſiaſticall weapons, without amending matters of euill example in his own Court at Rome, (and which ſince they were made and conſtrained to reforme) ſo much the more grew the reputation of *Luther* among the people, as they ſawe him more persecuted for the innocencie of his life, and pure doctrine which he preached then any thing elſe. And albeit that many were of opinion both at Rome and elſewhere, that it were leſſe inconuenience to diſſemble the fire of ſuch follie, which peraduenture would growe of it ſelfe into ſmoake, then in kindling and blowing it through the ſharpenes of ſuch purſuites, to make it encreaſe and growe in greater blaze then before: and chiefly for that a little wealth and honor had in the beginning, made him to eate his worde, namely, at ſuch time as hee was baniſhed by the Emperour at the Diet of Wormes, aſſuring themſelues to haue ſcene him in ſuch a fright, as if the iniurious and threatening wordes of the Cardinall *S. Sixte*, Legat had not led him to a laſt diſpaire, hee would gladly enough haue bene reconciled to the Church, and bene made to leaue his opinions. So it came to paſſe (as men are rather enclined to remedie inconueniences by vehemency and rigour, then fair means and curteſie) that not onely the persecutions which augmented daylye againſt him and his *Lutheranes*, but alſo a terrible excommunication being reſolued againſt the Duke of Saxe, rendred this Prince more ſeruent the euer, to the defence of the cauſe. True it is that the opinion which was helde among many Princes, that the followers of this doctrine were no leſſe enemies to the temporall Lordes, then to the authoritie of the Churchmen, was an occaſion that many ſoueraign and other Magiſtrates, diligently hindred, and with great ſeuertie, the publication thereof in their countries. Beſides that the multitude and contrariety of moſt abſurde heresies, which crept in at that very time, did maruelouſly retarde the beginning, yea and bring a maruellous abatement to the doctrine it ſelfe: but the liberty which the people in the end reſumed in their manner of life, (I will holde my peace as concerning the merite of the doctrine) and the couetous obſtinacy of great ones, who could neuer be broght to leaue any more their ancient manners, then the goods which they vſurped of the Church, did adde vnto him ſo ſtrong winges, that many preſaged his more high and loſtye flight, then hath as yet bene ſeene, howſoeuer in a worde to teach particularlye the beginning of his reformation.

Martin Luther borne the 10. of November 1483. at Iſlebe in the Countrey of Mansfelde, ſent to Magdeburg and Iſcena to plye his ſtudye, and then being giuen al- together to Logique and Philoſophie at Erforde, ſhortlye after rendred himſelfe Munke in the Conuent of *Auguſtines*, againſt the will of his parentes and friends, gi- uing himſelfe to the ſtudie of Diuinitie, in lieu of the Ciuill and Cannon law, to the expectation whereof as well his firſt bringing vp, as the deſire of his parents would haue deſtined him. So as *Stupice* Vicar of the order of the *Auguſtines*, who had the charge of the Vniuerſitie lately erected at Wittemburge in Saxe vpon the Riuer of Albye, made *Luther* goe thither to reade Diuinitie Lecture: ſince being returned from Rome, whether in the yeare 1510. his brethren had ſent him to ſollicite and follow

Luther cited
to Rome,

What cauſed
a ſtay of Lu-
thers refor-
mation,

*Martin Lu-
ther* begin-
ning, profeſ-
ion, and carri-
age of life,

Luther him-
ſelfe confeſ-
ſeth in his
anſwer to the
book which
H. D. of Brun-
wick wrote a-
gainſt him

followe a ſute which they had there, hee paſſed himſelfe Doctour at the expences of Duke *Frederic* of Saxe, elector of the empire, vnder whome as he ſeldome employed himſelfe but in his ſtudie, and that more then 2. thirds of Chriſtians, with one con- ſent approued the faith and catholique Romane religion; the ſuddaine and vnlooked for accident of generall pardons, occaſioned him though vnſkilfully, to debate in the beginning, by way of Colledge diſputations, ſome pointes different in Religi- on. Afterwards the fire of an ambitious anger, inflamed by the vndiſcreet couetouſ- nes of certaine Queſtors, encreaſed by the iniurious gain-ſayings of ſuch and other his aduerſaries, ioyned thereto the zeale which he had to guide the more ſimple ſort, in a way which ſeemed better vnto him; encouraged him to reforme and in the ende to reiect almoſt all the doctrine which had bene generally received of our fathers, as ſoone as he ſaw himſelfe excommunicated by the Pope, and baniſhed by the Em- perour *Charles* the fifth, 1519. See heere the beginning of pardons, and true motiue of the Croizade, the fruites whereof at firſt being ordained for the defence of the Chriſtian faith and nation, were employed notwithstanding as you ſhall perceiue.

Selim King of Turkes, a naturall and ancient enemy to the Chriſtians, had made himſelfe in that time ſo much more dreadfull to them all, as beſides the conſideration of his new conqueſts, whereby he had increaſed the Ottoman empire, he dreamed of nothing more puffed vp by reading of the happy carriages of *Alexander* the great, then to make the conqueſt of the worlde more eaſie to himſelfe then the other: for hauing cauſed *Baiazet* his Father (who had thought to haue made *Acomat* his eldeſt brother King) with *Acomat*, *Corcu* his brethren, and all their race to be murdered, was halfe perſwaded to haue done as much to his owne onely ſonne *Solyman*: he tamed the Aduliens, defeated the Zophy in battaile, took Tauris chiefe Cittie of Per- ſia, and parte of the Realme, which being forced to leaue for want of victuall, and turning toward Syria, ouerthrew two Souldanes of Egypt, and after hauing made a cleane end of *Mamelus* race, principall of the Souldanes, he inueſted himſelfe in their kingdomes, for gouernement whereof hauing left a Lord in Caire, chiefe Cittie of the Countrey, almoſt doubled his reuennues, and entertaining armes both by Sea and land, for the execution of higher intents, made himſelfe ſo horribly feared of his neighbours, as the leſſe aſſured tooke all paines to animate the reſt of the Potentates to oppoſe themſelues againſt his enterpriſes: who fearing leaſt the good hap of his ſo great victories atchieued, would make his hart ſwell to the aſpiring of their ruine, chiefly conſidering that he ſo proſperouſly accompanied his power & valour with a burning deſire of making himſelfe a Monarque, and by his famous enterpriſes, his name appeered moſt glorious to poſteritie: determined at the earneſt ſolliciting of the Emperour *Maximilian*, and Pope *Leo*, to make the greateſt maſſe of men, ar- mour, and monie, that they were able, to the end they might at leaſt exclude his en- trie into Chriſtendome, if they found not themſelues able to perſourm any way his ruine: imagining that he would attempt Rhodes or Hungarie, if hee ment not to diſcende into Italye, by the example of *Mahomet* his Grandfather, who ſurprized Otrante with a very ſmal power which hee ſent thither. The Pope then & the whole Court of Rome after certain ſolemne Proceſſions, in which they went bare-footed, ſent briefes to all Princes, to giue them warning of the imminent danger, and to pray them that all their quarrels ſet aſide, they would readily aduiſe for the defence of Re- ligion and common health, growing ſo vncertaine, if by a generall force and agree- ment they would not make warre in Turkie, to aſſaile the enemy in his owne home: whereupon hauing well conſidered of the eſtate between the Turks and Chriſtians,

it was

1541. as
Sleyden re-
porterh in the
14. of his hi-
ſtory, repea-
ting *Luther*'s
words, who
diſcouered
the occaſions
which moued
him to preach
and write
againſt par-
dons. My
name, ſaith
he, began to
grow famous
becauſe no
man was
found elſe
that durſt op-
poſe himſelfe.
This little
glory was
pleaſing as
then vnto
me, &c.

Selim King
of Turkes
dreadfull to
his enemies,

Selims cruel-
tie towards
his father,
brethren and
race.

Pope *Leo* en-
deuoureth
the Chriſtian
Princes to en-
ter league a-
gainſt the
Turkes.

How the
Christians ar-
mie should be
bestowed to
annoy the
Turke.

it was resolved that the Emperour accompanied with Hungarians, Polonians, and Germanes, should set forward through Danube in Boisine, (anciently Misia) to the end to passe into Thracia, and so approach Constantinople, the cheefe seate of *Ottomans*: that the King of Fraunce with the Italians and Zuifers, should passe from the Port of Brundiese into Albanie, (a very easie and shorte passage) to conquere Greece, which being peopled with Christians, & in generall too rigorously handled by the Turkes, was in a maner readie to reuolte, that the King of Spaine, Portugal & Englands forces, ioyned by Sea at Carthage, and hauens thereabouts, should prepare for the straight of Gallipoly to assault Constantinople, after hauing taken the Dardanes, otherwise the Castles seated at the mouth of the straight, that the Pope should followe from Ancone with one hundred Gallies, and that for the maintenance thereof should be made the greatest prouision of monye that was possible, by a voluntary contribution among the Princes, and a forme of Impost free in generall to be gathered throughout Christendome. This act proclaimed vniuersall Truce for five yeares throughout Christendome, vnder paines of great censures to the breakers thereof: and to the end that all particulars of greater importance which sprung from so high an affaire, might be the better resolved of the one side and the other, by the aduise of the Princes Embassadors which were resident about his person, hee sent out men of worth and reputation, (all Cardinals) for his Legates to all Princes. Now albeit this beginning had bred in the hart of euery one, a great hope of a laudable conduct and mo... happy end to ensue the whole plat, yea after the Truce was accepted of among them, which shewed themselves with great vaunts and mighty words, ready for the execution of such an enterprise, yet each one finding very vnesie the conduct of a matter so greatly important, the event vncertaine, farre distance, and more appertayning to the estates of the one then the other, and which asked a farre longer time to compass among themselves so vniuersall an vnion and affection, as was requisite to this action, the priuate interests and commodities cleane carried away the consideration of the publike. In such sorte that these practises were not onely not brought to any assured hope of to come, but were handled lightly, and almost in a kinde of ceremony, each one to acquite himselfe so of his due tie: according to the nature of men to whom things in the beginning seeming most terrible, doe so diminish day by day, and vanish by little and little in such sorte, that without a chaunce of new accidents which may renew their feare, they yeelde themselves but too soone assured of what may afterwards betide them: so as this negligence of the publike cause, & immoderate affection of some particular, was the more confirmed by the death of *Selim*, (whose long sicknes had delaied, and his death after cleane broken the preparations of the warre) who left so great an Empire to his sonne *Soliman*, yong of age, but accounted of a milde spirite and little courage, (though his effectes after shewed the contrary) that the Christians not esteeming him borne for armes, soone enough freed themselves of the feare which they had had of the actions passed. Nor withstanding before the death of *Selim*, and during the occasions as yet they had to feare the Turke, the Emperour assigned a day at Ausbourg, whether all the Princes christned were summoned to answer. And to that end Pope *Leo* sent his Bulls of great pardons throughout all Christendome, with promise of remission of sinnes, and kingdom of heauen, to all such as would help the Church with a certain summe of monie: and as well to aduance forward his Indulgences, as to animate the Christians to this warre, he dispatched *Thomas Caietan* his Legate into Germanie. Heereupon the quicke and prompt spirite of *Luther*, who as the most renowned of his owne pro-

Christian
Princes rather
respected
their particu-
lar, then the
common
cause.

Selim dicth,
Soliman suc-
ceedeth.

fession had already read many sortes of Bookes, in the most famous Vniuersitie of Germany, found the preachings and cariadges of these Questors very strange. Afterwards comming to doubt of the vertue of pardons, because hee saide that hee neuer remembered he found in his bookes that one ought to make traffique of the sinnes of men; and least that they could be redeemed with any monie, but the bloud of Christ, since that the Cannon did teach sinnes could not be remitted by pardons, no more then that the Preachers ought to sell license, to eate Egges, Milke, Flesh, and Cheefe, vpon daies forbidden, promising besides to forgiue all sinnes, how great soeuer, yea and to come, sent out his letters in October 1517. to certaine Prelates of Germany, praying them to take order therein, to resourme the preachings and imprinted bookes of those Questors: and since sent ninety five propositions (a little before published at Witemburge in manner of a scholasticall disputation) of Purgatory, Penance, ductie of Charitie, Indulgences and pardons, to search out, saide hee, the truth, and not to resolve: protesting that he would affirme nothing therein, but submit all to the iudgement of the holy Church. Now he first addressed himselfe to the Archbishop of Mayence for the reasons which ensue. *Albert* of Brandebourge hauing bene lately by Pope *Leo* created Archbishop of Mayence, seeing that the Chapter and Cannons excused themselves by reason of their former charges, not to be able to furnish him with monye to buye his (4) Episcopall mantle, which will cost aboute thirtie thousand Crownes, before it bee brought home, found meanes by accord with the Pope, to sende *John Tekel* a Iacobin, to preach pardons (already published else where) throughout all his Diocesse, and to set forth their vertue to all such as would disburse monye, with charge that halfe the gaine should returne to Rome, for the building vp of the Church of *S. Peter*, for in as much as the Foucres of Germanie had imprest their monie, there could not be a better meanes then this found to repaire them. Such was the first, howsoeuer the most apparant beginning of our euils, drawne from a thrid of wooll, which since hath been by so many people, in so many places, and so strongly winded and writhed, as many millions of men haue bene thereby hanged and strangled. Now be it for feare of censures, or thunder of excommunication, which these Questors caried about with them, no man durst litte vp his head to bande against them but *Luther*: many Diuines and Lawyers, to appease the murmures & shut his mouth, began to inueigh against him by a form of answer to his so late and hardye propositions: among the rest *John Tekel* published certaine theames cleane contrary, at Frankfort on the Viadre, in the seignorie of Blandebourge, praising therein aboute all, the authoritie of the Pope, the profit of pardons, and the wooden Crosse, which the Pope had caused to be set vp in all Temples, comparing it to *Iesus Christ*, as *Leo* to *S. Peter*: whereupon *Luther* taking occasion to manifest himselfe, sent the explication of his owne to sundry, and euen to *Leo* himselfe, in June 1518. declaring vnto him what follies his Questors had taught, and their pickerie of the simpler people, trusting vpon or abusing his authoritie, and for that hee doubted he might be accused towards him, he besought him to giue no credit to their calumnies, considering that *Frederick* the Elector, the vniuersitie of Wittenberge, nor so many other would haue approued his actions if there had bene any impiety in them: In summe, hee submitted his writings, his life, and his health to his good pleasure, accounting whatsoever should proceede from him as from Christ, not refusing to haue his head strooke of if he would so ordaine it. Heereupon *John Eccius* a Diuine, published to the contrary a Booke, entituled *Les Effaceurs*, to cote the fautes of *Luther*: writings. But he that most of all animated him, was *Siluestre Prieras*, Iacobin ma-

The paleo-
piscopal man-
tle, how made
and giuen by
Popes.

(4)
Made of the
wool of two
white Mus-
tuns, set vpon
the Aulter in
S. Agnes
Church,
while *Agnus
Dei* is sung
vpon that ho-
ly day, and af-
terwards giue
to the Sub-
deacons of S.
Peters, who
there them at
singing time,
and of the
yarne which
cometh from
them among
other, maketh
a mantle
three fingers
broad, & reach-
ing from
the shoulders
to the crosse
of the leg with
little knobs of
lead at the
skirts, from
thence laide
vpon the
corps of S. Pe-
ter & S. Paul,
with certaine
prayers, and
kept there
one night,
with great ce-
remony, at
deliuered to
him that
must haue it,
and is only
for Arch-
bishops.

ster

ster of S. Pallaies, by a booke, where hauing set downe the Pope aboute the Councell, yea and the scripture it selfe, which said he had no vertue and authoritie but from the Church and Pope of Rome, hee seemed to take occasion to digresse vpon the great vertue of Indulgences, for Luther setting himselfe to answer it, laid that it was a booke so full of horrible lyes and blasphemies against the diuine name, that there is great apparence that Satan was the very author: that if the Pope (saith he) and his Cardinals be of the same opinion, and if the like be helde and taught at Rome, there is no doubt but that it is the true seate of Antechrist: wherefore Greece and Bohemia were most happie that were seperated from it, and those contrariwise miserable that helde neuer so little thereof: if then the Pope would not repress this *Prieras*, if he made him not vnsway it, he protested that hee would be at discorde with him, and that he would be so far from acknowledging the Church of Rome for a true church, that he would contrariwise holde her for a taste of all villanie, and for a place vowed to all impiety: vpon this difference heated by *Siluestre*, he made him be cited to Rome, to come and defend his propositions: *Leo* commaunded *Caietan* rather by force of th' emperour to bring him to Ausbourghe, and from thence to Rome, commaunding all men to obey this commaundement, on paine of infamie and losse of goods: yea giuing entire absolution of all finnes, to such as would imploy themselves to the execution thereof as abovesaide: and praying *Frederic* not to fauour him, but to send him away with speede, promising to send him back againe, if hee were not found culpable: he warned also that *Gabriel* a Venetian, great Vicar of the Iacobins, that hee should not suffer him to teach, and earnestly solicited him by letters and messages, for by extreame diligence (said he) the fire alreadye kindled must bee quenched. As things newly sprung vp cannot cary any great force, but if by delay a mischiefe be suffered to grow stronger, it is to be feared, that afterwards it may grow vncurable, considering that day by day the euill encreased, in which nothing is more to be shunned then delay: *Luther* would not goe thither, saying that the place stood very suspitious and dangerous for him, but solicited to haue the cause debated in some free place of Germany. The vniuersitie of Witemberg wrote in his fauour to Pope *Leo*, to whom hauing protested that he would neither think nor speake against the faith receaued in the holy Sea, gaue notwithstanding attestation of his good life and better doctrine, and besought him to ordaine indifferent Iudges in Germanie: *Frederic* in the end dealt so farre with *Caietan*, that by the safe conduct of the Emperour, hee should be admitted to defende his cause at Ausbourghe before him, without going at all to Rome: who set before him that hee should repent himselfe by acknowledging of his error, and that hee should no more wright ought which might trouble the peace of the Church: for the first, he said he could not acknowledge that he had failed, but for the second he would obey it. But *Caietan* telling him that he did not esteeme so highly of the Popes authoritie as he ought, & that in his propositions he should say the merites of Christ were not the treasure of Indulgences, (contrarye to the decree of *Clement* the sixth) and that faith is necessary to such as would receiue the holy Sacrament, in sorte that they assured themselves their finnes wer pardoned; It is false (said he) before diuers witnesses, one Notaire, and foure Councillers of the Emperours: & protested that he had euer honoured & reuerenced the Church of Rome, and that if he had said ought repugnant thereunto, he would not abide by it: but in that hee was vrged to renounce his error, hee said hee did not think that euer hee spake any thing contrary to the scripture, opinion of ancient fathers, decree of Popes, or the right reason it selfe. Notwithstanding for that he confessed he might faile, a matter naturall to

Luther appeareth before
Caietan the
Popes Legat.

more

man, hee submitted himselfe to the knowledge of the holy church, & refused not that the vniuersities of Germany and Paris should yeeld their opinion, requiring then that the knowledge of the fact might bee sent to the Pope, nothing being able to come more pleasing vnto him, then to haue the voice of the Church vpon the same: he acknowledged how he had bene too bitter and lesse reuerent towards his dignitie, but the faulte was to be laide vpon th' importunitie of the Questors, and praised that hee might be pardoned, promising euer after greater modesty, and that euen in his preachings he would content the Pope, and would speake no more of pardons, if they would likewise shut vp the mouthes of his aduerfaries: wherupon seeing that *Caietan* pressed him so fore to recant, otherwise threatened him with paines ordained by the Pope, and excommunication if he repented not, he was coucelled to appeal from him to the Pope. The appeal contained that the question of Pardons had bene disputed by many, and yet neuer certainly determined; & that in such questions it was lawfull especially for Diuines to dispute, the which he the rather did, by reason of so fottish Questors, as exacted the people in so many kinde of sorts, and yet not to assume any thing therein, but the better to know the truth, leauing the whole to the iudgment of the most learned & *Leo* himself. Notwithstanding by the aduite of the B. of Scoli and *Prieras* his Iudges established by the Pope, he had bene cited to Rome, & from thence the cause sent back to *Caietan*, whom as suspected he might well haue refused, yet for all that he rendred all obedience, but seeing himselfe still pressed to recant, threatened with great paines, yea and ready to haue had worse, greeued with such preiudices, hee appealed from an ill informed Pope to a Pope better counselled. The decree of *Clement* which hee so vrged, is in the extrauagants of the Cannon, where speaking of the benefite of Christ, he saith that one droppe of his blood was sufficient to haue redeemed mankind, but so much being shedde as nothing whole and entyre rested behinde, it was lesse for a great treasure to the vse of the Church, commaunding *Peter* and his successors to distribute the same as good Stewardest, to such as should be truly repentant, and confesse their finnes, in pardoning them such temporall paines as were due vnto their finnes, adding thereunto the merittes of the Virgin and other Saintes, so as this treasure could not be drawn drye. Now as hee founded the vertue of pardons vpon this decree, *Luther* on the other side maintained that there was nothing committed to Saint *Peter* and his successors but the Keyes and administration of the word, by which Christ would that in a full affiance in him they should pronounce remission of finnes to the beleeuers: and if that the decree did agree with so true a sence of the Scripture it was then good, if otherwise, false: besides that the merittes of Saintes were cleane repugnant to the word, for what men soeuer they be, they doe neuer more then they ought, nay they neuer come neere their dutie, and therefore not saued but by the meere mercie of God. As touching that council which approued the souerainty of Popes to be aboute councels, see what it is in the 4. & 5. session of the councell of *Constance*, as in sundry other, it was ordained that the Pope should obey the ordinances of the councell, and ratified in the 3. and 8. session of that of Basle, but *Eugene* 4. not willing to be prelent at that of Basle, as much as he was thither cited, declaring it of no force, assigned another at Ferrara 1438. from Ferrara they went to Florence, where the Popes soueraintie was established aboute the Church and all Christians, whereas *Luther* referred himselfe to the Vniuersitie of Paris, it was for that *Gerson* a Doctor in Diuinity, much renowned at Paris, hauing bene at the councell of *Constance*, sent thither among others by the vniuersitie, and hauing greatlye allowed that decree by which the Pope was made in

Luther appeareth before
Caietan.

The foundation of pardons and Indulgences.

D

subiection

subiection, he therein was followed by them of Paris, and a number of others, he died 1429. And before that *Luther* had euer put any thing in light, that Vniuersitie had appealed from Pope *Leo* to a Councell, because that he with *Frauncis* the first had abolished *La Pragmaticque Sanction*, verie profitable for Schollers, to whome it opened the doore of offices, charges and honors throughout the whole Realme.

Now as since vpon *Leo* his sending to *Frederic*, *Charles Milit* a Germane his groom of his Chamber, with letters to sundry other to cause them to abandon *Luther*, and *Milit* seeing of him more supported, had found sundrye meanes to appease him, and reconcile him selfe to *Leo*, had not the disputation of *Eccius* at Lipse against *Luther*, which hee grounded vpon the difference of the Popes supremacie, cleane dashed all these hopes: for *Luther* not able to leaue his eagerneesse against the Courte of Rome, proffered greater iniuries then euer, tearing it more wicked and corrupt then Babilon or Sodome, that she was the sincke of impiety, to wiche nought could be added, and that Antechrist put therto his helping hand: saying that he greatly greeued that *Leo* did remain among them like a Lambe among wolues. *S. Bernard*, quoth he, lamented the estate of Pope *Eugene*, when as Rome was lesse filthy: but now that she is the reccate and bottomles gulf of all villanies, there is much more reason to bewaile her: further he besought by letters the new Emperour *Charles* the fift, as a puissance established by God, to render iustice, and to supporte the weake against the iniurie of the more mighty, that he would protect him, considering that he wrote nothing but by constraint of his aduersaries, and what was approued by the best men of knowledge in all Germany: ioyned withall that he offered to recant, if his errors might be proued: he professed as much before the Electors, the B. of Magdebourg and others. In summe all the Princes lightly regarded it saue *Frederic*, who in the ende flatly refused to send him to Rome, and lesse to punish him. Now *Frederic* standing in much awe of the Pope, and yet carying some affection to *Luther*, for that he saw him so much profite his Subiectes and other of his Vniuersitie, was very desirous that this difference might haue bene passed ouer with meekenes, without displeasing the one side or the other: but being solicited on both partes, in the end hee resolved to behaue himselfe according to the aduise of the most sufficientest personages of all his Countrie: therefore not attributing so great authoritie to himselfe, as to be able alone to iudge of this doctrine, hee demaunded the opinion of sundry aged and learned men: yea oft of such Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen as were of his acquaintance: Among other hee would needs heare *Erasmus* speake at a Diette which the Emperour *Charles* the fift helde in the Citie of Cologne, after his coronation: causing him then to come vnto him, hee declared amiably, that amidst all these debates, hee had rather the earth should open and swallowe him vp quicke, then cleaue to any false opinions, or fauour them the least that might be, against the generall approued doctrine: but that if *Luther* iustly taxed the errors, and set forth the springes of a more pure doctrine, he would neuer contrary the truth, what euil soeuer should befall him or his, as hee foresawe it, that hee would not too much stick to his own aduise, but desired to vnderstand the minde of the more learned, coniuring *Erasmus* freely to deliuer vnto him his opinion. Who beginning his speech with a kinde of smyling, saying that *Luther* had committed two great faults: first in touching the belly of the Monkes, next the crowne of the Pope, then comming to the matter, confessed that *Luther* had great cause to taxe certaine errors, considering that faults in the Church, encreasing by as naturall a corruption as diseases did in mans bodye, reformation then was, and all times had bene necessarye in the Church, but

Luther eager
against the
Court of
Rome.

Erasmus his
opinion of
Luther.

but that it ought to be handled with discretion, without disforming the Church, no more then mans bodie, to restore it to health. He added likewise that the summarie of *Luthers* doctrine was true, but that hee could haue wished a greater temperance and modesty in the proceeding thereof: *Laurence* Bishop of Vitzbourge, wrote the very same to th' elector *Frederic*, affirming he had taken the opinion of many learned men therein, so as *Frederic* perswaded by the authoritie of such and like personages of vawalew, made afterwards no difficultie in maintayning *Luther* against the Churchmen. About the sixt of Iulye 1526. Pope *Leo* hauing called together the Senate, the Colledge of Cardinales, and a number of learned men as hee affirmed in his Letters to *Frederic*, sent euery where his Bull out, in which after alleadging certaine textes of Scripture fit for his purpose, I pray Christ, saith hee, Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, and all the hee and she Saintes of Paradise, to turne away such danger from the Church, as *Luthers* writings might bring, afterwarde reciting certaine articles drawne out of his doctrine, hee reprobued them, commaunding all Magistrates and other to shunne it, vnder a paine set downe to euery one according to his qualitie, as a thing repugnant to Christian charitie, and to the reuerence which all men ought to beare towards the Sea of Rome: further willing that such books of *Luther* as contained like doctrine, should be publicly burned: commaunding him to meddle no more with teaching, to whome he gaue threescore dayes to reforme himselfe, abolish his bookes, and publicly recant his doctrine, otherwise hee abandoned him as an Heretique and excommunicate person, and willed hee should be punished according to the lawes: forbidding all men to haunt him, comprehending vnder the same lawe all such as should doe the contrarye. But he standing aduertised of his condemnation at Rome, repealed his appeale the seuenteenth of Nouember 1526. and more crossely then euer maintained the Pope to persist in his tiranny and impiety: as being so farre out of the way, as to haue condemned him, without calling him, hearing him or conuicting him of any error, his appeale grounded vpon many points: First, for that without hauing heard the matter, and without being conuicted, hee condemned him at his pleasure. Secondly, that hee commaunded him to reiect all faith necessary to the Sacraments. Thirdly, that hee preferred his owne opinions and rauiages before the Scriptures, and that hee referred nothing to any councell, which hee offered to approue whensoever it pleased his superiours. Then hee besought the Emperour and the rest of the Magistrates, that for the honor of God and defence of a Councels libertie, they would receaue his appeale, that they would bridle the tirannie of the Pope, that they would not account his Bul any manner of way able to touch the, and that they would innouate nothing, vntill the cause might be worthely pleaded: for all this notwithstanding the Pope vrged *Frederic* to burn all his Books, and that he should either cut of his head, or making him Prisoner deliuer him vp to be punished in example. *Frederic* praied him not to proceede so eagerly, but to choose good and skilfull Personages, to confer of the whole matter amyablye to giue sure safe-conduct to *Luther*, and that his bookes might not be burned before hee had defended his cause, then if he were conuicted by sure testimonies of the scripture, he would not approue his enterprife, albeit that alreadye hee contented not to his doctrine, and though he should not be able to maintain his fact, yet hee hoped the Pope would not require at his hands a matter which he could not performe: for the rest he hoped (by Gods assistance) to fulfill the office of a Prince of th' empire and of an obedient Sonne to the Church.

Luther con-
demned by
Pope Leo.

Luther ap-
pealed against
from the
Pope.

Luther pul-
liquely bur-
neth the ca-
non law and
Popes Bull.

To which the deputies of *Leo* hauing in vain replied, the end of the conference was that necessity pressed them to do according to the contents of the Popes Bull, wherefore anon after they burned *Luthers* bookes: then began he much more eagerly to goe to worke, for being aduertised of all this passed, hee assembled together all his schollers of Witemberge, and in the presence of many learned personages, hee publicly burned the Cannon law, together with the Popes new Bull, the 10. of December. Afterwards to render reason of his exploit he alleadged these: First, that it was an ancient custome to sing corrupt bookes into the fire, as it is seen in the Acts of the Apostles: besides, it is his part which is baptized into Christ, which is a professor and publique teacher of the Scriptures, to combat against false doctrine, and propose that which is wholsome for mankind; as touching the Pope and his sequel, they are so miserable and accursed, that they doe not onely withstand the holy ordinances, but condemne the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, to make their owne shine for the brighter: from thenceforth he imploied himselfe euer after to write against the excessive abuses and mischiefs, which hee said was in the Court and doctrine of Rome, as others on the other side very bitterly maintained the contrary, each with many iniuries and reciprocall inuectiues far vnworthy of Christians. So as a certaine desire of honor, stirred vp by a dutie to the explaining, according to his charge of the holye scripture, made him become so resolute and stubborn, by the peeuisht thwarts of his aduersaries, that then he became open bankero out to the catholicke and remaine doctrine, so as hauing bene summoned to the Diet of Wormes, whither he had the Emperours safe-conduct, to render an account of his faith, there to be punished or justified according as he should maintaine; he said frankly the 18. of April 1521. that he would not recant one inch, except lawfully they made the contrary to appeare vnto him, being the cause that the Emperour on the next morrowe sent his letters to the assemblye of Princes, in which hee contained that his ancestors who had made profession of Christian Religion, had euer obeyed the Church of Rome: now since *Luther* oppugned the same, his dutye was to followe the steppes of his Predecessors, and to defende Christian Religion, in succouring the Church of Rome: wherefore hee determined to banishe *Luther* and his Adherents, and vse other remedies fit for the quenching of this fire: but because of his faith, which he had plighted, hee would send him home safe. The 24. of Aprill the Archbishop of Treuues, and other of the Lords called him to them, where after hauing wished him to recant, or at the least submit his writings to the iudgement of the Emperour, and of the counsell of the Princes and generall counsell to come: hee would not in any case but that all should be resolu'd by the authoritie of the holy scripture, which *Ecclus* the Lawyer and others saide was not reasonable, considering the diuers fence of Scripture, which euery man interpreteth after his owne fancies: and that further, by this meanes should neuer any thing be sure or clearly determined, that it was not to be suffered that euery man should aske a reason of euery point, as of a matter impossible in nature. Breefe, that since it was not a thing reasonable, to dispute a matter alreadye resolu'd or condemned by the Church, men ought simply and absolutely to holde that doctrine which their good Fathers had left vnto them. In summe *Charles* the 5. of the age of one & twenty yeares, banished him the eight of May 1521. by his Letters Pattentes, by which considering it was his dutye to take order that no filthe should enter into the Empire, by the example of his Predecessors; hee assembled all the Princes and States of the Empire at Wormes, where hee communycated the matter of *Luther*, and diligently examyned it.

Now

Luther ban-
ished by Char-
les his letters pat-
entes at
Wormes.

Now albeit the lawes forbid to heare a manifest heretique, so many times condemn'd and seperated from the communion of the Church, yet to stop the passage to all calumnie, he sent him a letter and dispatched his Herald with safe conduct, to cause him to come vnto him and render account of his writings: afterwards hauing recited the propositions, desseines, *Luthers* answers and all that had passed at Wormes, he said that in case *Luther* did still defend his errors, and wilfully perseuere in them, he approued the Popes bul, and to witnes that he would maintain it, hee condemned and banished *Luther* as an author of schism, and an obstinate heretique, commanding men to hold him for such: and after 21. daies which he gaue him of fauour to reclaim himselfe he charged euery man with all force to endeouor to take him and deliuer him vp into his hands: he banished also all such as any manner of way whatsoever fauoured him, enioyning his bookes to be vtterly abolished, with great paines from thence forward for any booke-binders that should sell any of them, and ordained that his decree made in the counsell of the Princes and all the estates should remaine for euer inuolable.

Luther then much spiting at his hauing bene thus condemned, and his bookes burnt by the Deuines of Cologne and Louaine, after 1521. by those of Paris, was at Rome giuen vnto the Diuell, the 28. of March 1521. by the Pope; together with all heretiques, Pyrates, Imposers of new tributes, falseifiers of Bulls, Marchants furnishing the enemies of the faith with weapons, or other thinges forbidden, Massacrers, possessors by violence, & other which they are accustomed to condemn & curse: the Maundy Thursday before Easter, in the Bull which they call *In aena Domini*: Afterwards banished by the Emperour in a generall assemblye of the Princes of the empire: you may not doubt if he were then put into a heate to skirmish more eagerly then euer he did, so as that being published throughout, and likewise pricked forward by the threats and outrageous speeches of Cardinal *S. Nisse* and other his aduersaries, and besides seeing himselfe supported as wel by *Frederick* Duke of Saxo his Meeenas, as many other Lords, gentlemen, and great personages, attempted (a matter which neuer before he durst so much as haue dreamed of) clearely to abolish the Masse by his writings which he published, to that end at Witemberg, first with *Frederick* whom by little & little he gained as well by his own arguments, as by the authoritie of *Philipp de Melancthon*, a professor at Witemberg, *Iustus Ionas* and other to whom this Prince had giuen in charge, to examine the consequence of so notable a change, afterwards in many places of Germany, so as leauing that feare which had as it were before bound him fast with the chaines of modesty, he durst then make open warre against the Pope and all other that would maintaine his doctrine, by the same weapons the selues vied, beginning to effectuate the Prophecie which he turned to himselfe, of *Iohn Hus* & *Hierosme* of Prague. The Bohemians to witnes the great displeasure which they conceaued at those mens deaths at Constance, caused peecees of mony to be coyned which they called *Husites*, about which were engrauen those words which he vttered at his departure: *After one hundred yeares ye shal answere God and me*. As if knowing they shuld liue no longer, he would haue said that the Iudges shuld the come before the throne of God to render an accompt of their act. But *Luther* interpreting it to himselfe in his commentaries vpon *Daniel*, taketh it for a certain prophecie that *Iohn Hus* should be the fore-runner of his reformation, bringing in *Iohn Hus*, as if he should say, *they shall roast the Goose*, (for *Hus* is as much to say as a Goose, in the Bohemian tongue) *but they shall not roast the Swan which will come after me*. Indeede hee was burned 1541. and the difference moued by *Luther* vpon the pardons began 1517. Among the cheefest of his aduersaries,

The Masse
first aboli-
shed in Ger-
many.

Iohn Hus
prophecies
of *Luther*.

aduerfaries which openly declared themfelues *Henry 8.* K. of England, prefented him felfe, who aboute all the reft difallowed his iudgement vpon the Indulgences, defending the opinion and power of the Pope: thence he proceeded vterly to condemne by a booke dedicated to that end, all the difputation of the Sacraments of the church, taking his argument to write vpon the Captiuitie of Babilon caufed by *Luther*: who thereunto answered very bitterly, not ficking to declare vnto him that hee made no account of the dignitie or magnificent apparance of any perfon. Pope *Leo* receaued hereat fo great contentment, that he gaue vnto him the title of *Defendor of the faith*, and afterwards 1524. *Clement 7.* of Medices, fent vnto him a Roſe of golde, which he had confecrated three moneths before Eaſter.

The Empe-
rour viſiteth
in perſon the
K. of Eng-
land.

Hereupon the Emperour being embarqued to paſſe out of Germany into Spaine, where certain ſeditious were ſtirred vp, in his way viſited the K. of England, to whom the better to aſſure himſelfe of him againſt the K. of Fraunce, he promiſed the 13. of Iune 1522. at Windſor vpon the Thames beyond London, to pay annually one hundred thirtie and three thouſand crownes, which the french yearlye did owe vnto the Engliſh. And for a greater alliance it was agreed that in time and place the Emperour ſhould take in marriage *Mary*, daughter to *K. Henry* then of the age of ſeauen yeares, and that if this accord helde not, he ſhould pay foure hundred thouſand Crownes.

Images bro-
ken downe in
Germanie.

Luthers doctrine in the meane ſeaſon diſperſed throughout Germany, profited in many places, ſo farre as his Diſciples in their abundance not content to goe any more to the Maſſe, egged the people to the plucking downe of Images, and chiefly *Andre Carolaſtade*, for which act being miſliked by the Vniuerſitie of Witemberg, they condemned this attempt, ſhewing that it was not the way wherein they ought to proceed but before all to pull out the Images of the ſpirite, and to teach the people that onely through faith we pleaſe God, and that Images ſerued to no end, which being beaten downe in the ſpirite, and men well taught, the corporall Images would ſoone fall downe of themſelues: not for any miſlike they had to haue them cleane taken away, but that it ought to be done by the hand of the Magiſtrate: for it was not permitted to euery man to do according vnto his fancy. Shortly after 1523. 1524. *Zwinglius* did as much at Zurich in Switzerland, and many other Cantons in like time followed after. In ſumme that a man cannot tell how lightly, how ſecretly, and in what a ſhort ſpace this doctrine crept into the harts and braines of many thouſands of Chriſtians, eſpecially then when euery one ſaw that *Leo* had not imploied any parte of the great maſſe of monie come of his pardons againſt the Turke, who in the meane time had ruyned Hungarie, attempted vpon Bohemia, taken Rhodes, and done a thouſand miſchiefes againſt the Chriſtians, albeit that the Pope, the Emperour, the Eccleſiaſticall Princes and others, had ſlung all the ſtones they could to the contrarye, euen cauſing the Ediſt and decree of Wormes to be obſerued againſt *Luther* and his doctrine, the which was notwithstanding hindred as well by the reformed Princes and their partakers, as by the writings and ancient arguments of *Luther* and his companions, ſo as there is no maruell if the people, and aboute all the comminalty of townes, not finding their paſſions ſtaied by any lawes or polittique ordinances, licenced themſelues to growe more wiſfull in their impreſſions then euer.

Leo 10. dieth,
Adrian 6. ſuc-
ceededeth.

Leo being departed, whoſe Father was *Laurence*, and *Cofme* his Grandfather, who had enobled and exalted the familie of Medices: *Adrian* the 6. of Vtrech in Holland, ſucceeded him 1521. as well in the dignitie, as hate and bitter purſuite againſt *Luther*: and the Churchmen ſeeing the protection which many Princes gained by little and little, thorough his doctrine, gaue to *Luther* leaſt any ſhould attempt againſt his per-
ſon,

ſon, turning the effect of their hatred vpon his diſciplines, gaue a beginning to moſt cruell and continuall perſecutions of the euill affected towards the faith. Now as the ſeede of this reformation was taken out of the conuent of *Auguſtines*, ſo did they make ſeene the firſt treaties of their bitter puniſhments vpon *Iohn* and *Henry*, *Auguſtine* Fri-ers of Bruſſelles, who after many diſputations with *Iaques Hocſtrai*, the Inquiſitor a *Iu-
cobin*, hauing bene depoſed of the prieſtly order, diſgraded of the leſſer orders, clad with laye and prophane habites, after deliuered vp to the ſecular Juſtice, were burned alieue the firſt of Iuly 1523. Hereupon *Adrian* died the 13. of September 1523. to whome *Clement* of Medices 7. ſucceeded, vnder whome the doctrine of *Luther* began to creepe in amidſt the French: among whom albeit couertly and ſecretly the Lutheranes were ſoone enough ſuſpected and known: afterwards examined of their faith, were very often purſued by the Clergie, ſo as the French army being broken vp, and the King taken before Pauie by *Fernand Daul* Marquiſſe of Peſcaire, *Charles* of Bourbon, and *Charles De Launoy* Viceroy of Naples, 14. of Februaire 1525. who carried him priſoner into Spaine, his mother *Loyſe* regent in his abſence, deſiring in this ſo great an affliction, to entertaine the good fauour of Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially of the Pope, beſides the good affection and ſingular reuerence which by her letters ſhee proteſted to carrie towards the Church of Rome, demaunded at their hands ſuccour againſt ſuch an accident, and Councell how ſhee might ſtaie the courſe of hereſies, which were already hatched thorough out the whole Realme. Then *Clement* the ſeuenth beſides his priuate letters full of hope and comfort, ſignified from Rome the 20. of March 1525, to the Parliament of Paris, that he had vnderſtoode by letters from the regent, how thoſe wicked hereſies began to ſlide thorough the whole Realme, and whom by great prudence and good aduiſe, they had deputed certaine, to whom they gaue charge to ſee the puniſhment of ſuch as ſtroue to abolish the faith and aun-
cient Religion: whom ſo deputed he confirmed by his owne authoritie. It is neceſ-
ſarie, faith he, that againſt this great and maruailous diſorder, ſprung from the malice of Satan, and the rage and impietie of his ſupporters, the whole world ſhould bend their forces, to preferue the common health: conſidering that this forſcenerie woulde not onely confound and broyle Religion, but alſo, all principalitie, Nobility, lawes, orders and degrees. For his owne parte he would neither ſpare any diligence or labor, to remedie ſuch an inconuenience: that they in like ſorte whoſe prudence and vertue hath euery where bene highly renowned, ought to employ themſelues to the pre-
ſeruing of the true and right faith: And moreouer, that to the end the weale of their Realme, and dignitie of their eſtate ſhould be exempt, from the perill and domeſticall miſteries which this pernitiuous and peſtilent hereſie ſowed round about, they needed not to bee pricked forwards, conſidering how great teſtimonie of their prudence they had already yeilded; yet to make his dutie appeare, and ſhew the good will which he bore vnto them he would doe no leſſe then adde this. For that which they hetherto had done, was moſt agreeable vnto him, and was the cauſe why he exhorted them, from thence forth to keep good watch againſt ſo miſchieuous a plague of hereſiques, for the honour of God and ſafety of the Realme. In ſome hee aſſured them that this their diligence ſhould bee greatly acceptable to God and worthy of much praiſe before men, that he in like ſorte would ſet to his helping hand, and giue vnto them aide and all poſſible fauour.

Adrian dieth,
Clement 7. de
Medices ſuc-
ceededeth.

Letters from
the Pope to
the Parli-
ment of Paris

Vpon this then the Diuines of Paris, during the imprifonment of King *Francis* the firſt tormented greatly among other, *Iacques Le Feure* of Eſtaples, who hath left be-
hinde him many bookes in Philoſophie, and Diuinitie. In ſort that hee was enforced
D 4

King Francis
writeth in the
behalf of
Iacques Faber
to

to retire out of Fraunce. The King aduertised hereof especially by the recommendation of his sister *Marguerite*, who greatly fauoured *Le Feure* for his vertue, sent letters to the Parliament of Paris, in which he signified how hee had beene giuen to vnderstand, that they had indited *Iacques De Feure*, and sundry other of excellent knowledge before them at the pursute of the Diuines who deeply hated *Le Feure*, for euen before his departure out of France, some of that facultie had highly accused him before himselfe, but wrongfully and without cause. That if it had beene so, saith he, he gaue charge to the greatest personages and most notable in all erudition to canuiffe out his bookes and writings wherewith he was charged, which they diligently executing, & euery thing thoroughly examined, a most ample and honorable testimonie was deliuered vnto him touching the said *Feure*, considering then that the truth is such as hee did afterwards vnderstand: that he was highly esteemed among the Italians and Spaniards for his doctrine and vertue; he would stand maruailously discontented, if they should offer any iniurie, or put in any danger so innocent a person. And for that, at that instant he ment to haue iustice more rightly & rigorously administred thoroughout his Realme then before; as also for that he resolved to shew all fauour and amitie towards learned men, to that end hee commaunded that if they had put any men of knowledge in question since his departure, that it should be suspended by his mother the regent to the end he might be aduertised by her, and that they should therein attend his intention and good pleasure: In the meane time not to proceede any further: but surcease vntill his returne, which he hoped would be shortly by the grace of God, or vntill that he or his mother should bee otherwise aduised. These letters were dispatched to goe from Madril a Citie in Spaine the 12. of Nouember, and presented vnto the Parliament of Paris the 28. of the same month.

League betweene the regent and Henrie the 8. King of England.

Loyse shortly after seeing that she was not able to winde the Emperour to such an accord as shee desired for the deliuerie of her sonne, made alliance with *Henrie* the 8. King of England, about the end of August 1525. The first Article purposed that they should employ them selues to the repelling of the Turkes strength and courses, together with the pestiferous sect of *Luther*, no lesse dangerous then the Turkes. Now as the Emperour, perceiuing the King to grow verie sicke in respect the pretended accord could take no good effect, feared least by the encreasing of his sicknesse he might loose thorough a suddain death, so certaine aduantages as presented themselves he went to see him at Madril, comforted him and put him in better hope then euer. In the end the 14. of Ianuarie 1526. the treatie was concluded: Among the Articles whereof, it was specially set down that the Emperours and Kings principall end was to haue the enemies of the faith and heresies of the Lutherans cleane rooted out: And that a peace being concluded between them, they should settle the common weale, and vndertake a warre against the Turkes, and heretiques excommunicate, and cut off from the communion of the Church. A matter aboue al most necessarie, and to which the Pope had often dealt and sollicitated them to become watchfull. To satisfie then his good pleasure, they resolved to beseech him to commaunde Embassadors from all Kingdomes and Princes, to meete at a day in some certaine place, with generall charge and commission, to aduise how they might well make a war against the Turke and defeate the heretiques enemies of the Church, that the Pope would permit euery Prince according to custome, to leaue money in his owne Countrie, for so holy and charitable a worke: and also suffer them to leaue some dismes vpon the Cleargie. In somme the Princes prepared themselves of all handes to feast well the Lutherans.

Peace concluded between the Emperour Charles and Francis & his

Their

Their number increased notwithstanding from day to day: especially after the disputation at Berne, whether many of the Zuisler Cantons sent of their people to auntere, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, *Capito*, *Blaurer* and other. The conclusion thereof was made the 25. of Ianuarie 1528, at such time as the Articles published by them were approued by the voice of the greater part, and put in practise by the authoritie of the Magistrate as well at Berne, as sundry other places adioyning: the Masse, Aulter and Images being cleane put downe. They of Constance had already made a beginning vnder *Ambrose Blaurer*: But after this disputation they did as the Bernois, and they of Basle likewise in the beginning of Februarie 1529. Those of Geneue did in like sort, by reason whereof the Bishop and Cleargie standing terribly ananged, quitted the town 1528. Whether many French men persecuted for their conscience, beganne as then to retire. But in Germanie the Lutherans helde vp their heade, fearing nothing but the Emperour and some few other, against whose enterprises they began already to league them selues. Now whereas the Emperour had assigned a day at Spire, to resolve there of the matter of Religion, of the decree of Wormes, and warre against the Turke, it was agreed that they should attend a generall Councell: and that for the decree of Wormes euery man shoulde in the meane time so gouerne himselfe in his Religion, without altering ought in any sort, as he might be able to render a good account to God and the Emperour. Before this decree 1526, the Prince of Saxe and the Landgraue, called vnto the deputies of Strasbourgh, Noremberg, Ausbourgh, and others to whome they deliuered, that by reason they saw the Bishops and other Papistes machinate some thing against them, for cause of their Religion, it were good to practise some league and alliance, to the end that if any should be in perill for this profession, he might be succored of the rest: but there was nothing as then concluded, sauing that the deputies hauing receiued no charge thereto, demanded a time to communicate thereof. Now as afterwards in March 1529 they repeated in the selfe same assemblee at Spire, what had beene concluded touching the decree of Wormes, and alleaged that many abused the same (for vnder colour of the decree, men defended and excused all horrible doctrines) it was ordained that such as vntill that time had obserued the Emperours Edict, should continue vntill a Councell, (whereof the Emperour gaue hope) and constrain the people to do the like, that they which had receiued other doctrine then they were able to quite, for feare of sedition, should take heed not to innouate any thing vntill then. And that their doctrine which taught other wise then the Church, touching the supper should not be receiued nor the Masse abolished, and where there should be any new fashion of doctrine, hindering such as would goe to Masse, whosoever did the contrarie should be proscribed. But the 19. of April, 1529. the Prince of Saxe, *George* of Brandebourgh, *Ernest*, and *Francis* of Lunebourgh, the Landgraue, he of Anhalt opposed themselves to the decree, and in writing published the occasions of their opposition. Beseeching the rest of the Princes not to thinke amisse of that, if therein it agreed not iumpe with them: for as the former decree (said they) was established by a common accord, so could it not be broken without all did consent thereunto. One partie of the principall Citties hauing consulted together, ioyned themselves with this protestation of the Princes, to wit, Strasbourgh, Noremberg, Vlme, Constance, Ruthelin, Vuinsleme, Merbinge, Lindaue, Campodun, Hailbrun, Isne, Vuisselburg, Norling, Saint Gal, to which many more after likewise ioyned. And for that they all protested to follow the first decree of Wormes and reiect the new, they were alwaies after called Protestants. Who after that made and published an act of their appeale, containing

Suissers reformed.

Geneue a first retreat to French Lutherans.

The decree of Spire permitted euery man to maintaine his Religion without alteration.

The beginning of the league of Smalcade among the Protestants.

Whence the name of Protestants first strong.

taining by order a narration of all the matter in which they appealed from the day of Spire, and decree there made to the Emperour, and a lawfull generall councill to come; or a nationall of Germanie, and in effect to all Iudges of whom there was no cause of suspition: and thereupon they dispatched men to the Emperour, to beseech him not to dislike any thing therein, and in the meane time offered vnto him all obedience, seruice, and other duties which hee could desire at their handes, the which I haue bene willing to describe somewhat at large vnto you, because there will oftentimes fall out speech of these Protestants and their league, whereof the matter fel out thus.

I haue already deliuered vnto you how the Saxon and Landgraue had heere before at the same day of Spire, made entrance to a certain confederation and alliance, which was afterwards sufficiently and diligently pursued, and as principallye a man aduiseeth himselfe more vpon an occasion then at any other time: in like manner after this decree they much more diligently bethought themselves, so as they did some little matter at Noremberg, as a proiect which was since mightily increased. And in October the Deputies of these Princes and townes being at Schuabach, it was proposed in the name of *Frederic* and *George* of Brandebourgh, that since the defence of Religion was the very motiue and foundation of this alliance, it was about all things necessary that all their wils were of accord therein: wherefore they recited a summary of doctrine, which was approued of all, but they of Strasbourgh and Vime said, that in respect there had no mention at all bene made thereof in the precedent assemblee, it passed their charge to deale therein. The opinion of the Supper grew diuers, which was the only hindrance thereof: the one holding the opinion of *Zuinglius*, that men tooke the body of Christ by faith: the other of *Luther*, that men eate it really: which being the cause that at that time they could not conclude of ought, they ordained an other assembly at Smalcade 13. of December. The Protestant deputies being brought into Plaisance in Lombardie, to giue the Emperour to understand the reasons of their appeale, had answer, that that was done for feare of nouelties, and to be meete as well with all kinde of sectes to come, as such as at this daye wandered throughout, and to establish a peace in all Germany, so as they ought not to make any difficultie for letting it passe; ioyned withall that the custome did not carrye, that what was ratified by the greater parte of th'empire, should be disannulled by a few, which must needs cause him to write to the Duke of Saxe and his companions, commaunding them to consent thereto, or else he would cause such a punishment, as all should take example thereby, which they of themselves ought to haue done, considering how much the Turk at this day wasted Hungary: & albeit that they furnished all against the Infidels, yet except there were a mutuall consent by a peace, and brotherly beneuolence among the estates, no thing could be brought about advantageous against so puissant an enemye: the Deputies notwithstanding gaue vp their appeale in writing, and in the end had leaue to departe, so as all being deliuered in councill, the 14. of October 1529. the Princes and others assembled towards the end of Nouember at Smalcade, where the difference of Religion hindering as yet any resolution, they departed vnder condition, that whosoever would in each point consent to this doctrine and receiue it, should meet at Noremberg the sixt of Ianuary 1530. there to deliberate of what were to be done. Now they concluded nothing but to tarry vntill the day which the Emperour should publish in the Spring, which was at Ausbourg, the 8. of April 1530. *Charles* the first elected Emperour in Iune 1519. at Francforde vpon the Rhyne, (notwithstanding the contrarye pursutes of the

The opinion of the Supper being diuers among the reformed, is cause of great inconueniencies.

the French for their Prince) after the death of *Maximilian* the 12. of Ianuary, and sacred at Aix in the end of October, was crowned at Bologne le Grasse the 24. of February, by *Clement*. And whereas vpon the 20. of Iune, when the day assigned by him at Ausbourg where he made his entry began, he commaunded the Duke of Saxe to carry the Sword before him going to the Masse, (according to the office of Marshall to the Empire, Hereditarie to the house of Saxe) the Elector would first take the aduise of his Doctors, who perswaded him that it was lawfull, considering that he went thither to execute his office, and not to heare the Masse: he was there then onely accompanied by *George* of Brandebourgh. After many affaires proposed and debated, in the end he caused to be published this decree for religion, that hauing reiected the confession of the Protestants faith, hee ordained in summe that nothing should be changed in matters concerning faith and diuine seruice, that whosoever should doe the contrary, should be punishable both in body & goods, that reparation should be made of all the iniuries which had bene done to the Churchmen; and to the end this decree should remaine inuioable for religion, he assured that he would employe all the means which God had giuen him thereto, euen to the spending of his bloud and life: yea it was forbidden that any should be able to pleade in the imperyal chamber which astonished a great many: for the Emperour took good assurance of all the rest for the execution thereof: whereupon the Protestants being assembled the 22. of December 1530. at Smalcade, concluded a forme of aliance to succour one another: to the which the Princes at that instant bound themselves, and with them many other Lords and free Citties, thinking good to trye therein the King of Denmarke, and Princes of Pomerania and Magdeburg, with all to write to the Kings of Fraunce and England, to dissuade them from such false reportes, as their enemies might make runne of them and their religion, which they accordingly did the 16. of February 1531. The Landgraue allied himselfe with them of Zurich, Basle, and Strasbourg, in Nouember, vpon condition to succour one another for their religion; but after the breaches betweene the fiew little Cantons and the rest (which passed in certaine reencounters where the reformed had the worst) and the accord made betweene them since that, in October 1531. was put this clause, that they of Zurich, Berne, and Basle, should quit the aliance of the Landgraue, and Strasbourgh with the fiew Cantons of *K. Ferdinandes*. Afterwards the 29. of March 1531. they met againe at Smalcade, where they receiued but slender answers from Denmark and Pomerany, they consulted of means how to haue succours ready at need, of men, monye, and munition, and for that they had had the opinion of learned men before they confederated together, and that *Luther* had before taught and published in writing, that it was not lawfull to resist the Magistrate, hee now changed his minde, for when as their Lawyers did declare in this meeting that such a case might bee offered as the Lawes permitted a man to resist; as they did in this, he said he was cleane ignorant of that point, for that the Gospell did not impugne the lawes polittick, but often times confirme them: and because they sayd that such an accident might arise in which necessitie and duetie of conscience did put the sworde into their hands, he made a book by which he admonished all men in generall not to obey the Magistrate, if he sought to employe them in such a waire, for they stode well assured how that the Emperour solicited by the Pope and other, went about some mischeefe for them, vnder colour of hauing a care for the common wealth of Germany: King *Fraunce* the first wrote courteously back vnto them the 21. of April 1531. with offer of his helpe, so did the King of England the 3. of May. Now after the decree of Ausbourg the Emperour being solli-

The King of Fraunce and England, succour the Lutherians.

follicited by the Pope and other of the Cleargye, seemed that he would make the Protestants range themselves to the common doctrine: but for that certain Princes more peaceably addicted among the Catholicks, saw that that could not be brought to passe but with great inconueniences to all Germanye, considering that the Protestant Princes and confederate Citties had already prepared themselves, they counselled the Emperour to assigne some daies, to examine therein their doctrine, and to seeke meanes of peace and accord in religion, which often had bene assaied and euer in vaine, by reason of the great difference thereof: and that the Princes (as *Luther* at other times had done by Pope *Leo* his Bull) had appealed from the Decree of Ausbourg to a future councell, to whom properly appertained the debating of Religion. In the end notwithstanding about the beginning of October, the Princes wrote againe to the deputies Embassadors for peace, that if any did thinke or could proue that their doctrine proposed at Ausbourg were erroneous in any point, or in default of so doing, would submit himselfe to the testimony of the holy Scripture, they held it most agreeable, that if the Emperour would assigne a day at Spire, and giue safe conduct and ostages to themselves, their associates and *Luther*, which they ment to bring thither, besides if he would permit their free and publique preachings, together with the vse of the Supper according to Christs institution, and not constrain them to make difference of meates, they or their Deputies would be present with full power: and if their doctrine were not confuted, they trusted the Emperour would no more hinder them in their Religion. In the mean time since that they had formed an appeale to a lawfull Councell, they besought the Emperour that he would not in the meane season innouate ought against them. Now besides the point of religion, the election of *Ferdinando* to be K. of Romans, was proposed by the Emperour, and courageously refused by the Duke of Saxe, (who died about the 13. of August 1532.) and other Protestantes, in fauour of whom the King of Fraunce had already assigned one hundred thousand crownes. But in the end of June 1534. by accord made betweene *Ferdinand* and the sonne of *Frederic* late departed, it was said among other things, that he should acknowledge him for K. of Romans without prejudice to come to the Electors, and that within two moneths the Emperour should ratifie the succession of *Frederic*, as well to the goods of his Father as his Grandfather: and should confirme the mariage passed with the Duke of Cleues. In summe the endeuourers of peace, the Bishop of Maience and elector Palatin, preuailed so farre, and the Turkes comming into Austria more, that the Emperour to haue succour of all handes, in the beginning of June 1532. at a day helde at Noremberg, confirmed a generall peace throughout all Germany, with forbidding any should be troubled for Religion vntill a Councell, or if that helde not, vntill the Estates had found meanes to appeale that difference, vpon grieuous paines to the breakers thereof, and promised himselfe would be a meanes to the Pope, that a Councell should be published within sixe moneths, to begin one year after: or if the Councell should not holde, aduice should be taken in the imperiall daies, to resolue the whole: to which the protestants promised to doe all dutie against the Turke. Concluded the 23. of Ianuarie, and ratified the second of August, by the Emperour, and afterwards published, the Emperour holding a day at Ratisbone.

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Katherine his Neece to Henry Duke of Orleans, being 15. yeares of age, a mariage no lesse coueted of the one side then the other. True it is that *Clement* would neuer assure himselfe thoroughly thereof, vntill he saw them in bed together. The K. in like sorte (notwithstanding any offers and assurances which the Emperour & other Princes offered vnto the Pope, so as he would not perseuere therein,) tooke no rest vntill it was accomplished, as well for the dignitie and singular commendation of that race, and the hope which his affaires might breede in Italye, as contrariwise, that the Emperour might soone enough thereby be impayred: Now to the ende that such as willingly suffer themselves to be commaunded by their passions, or in like sorte iudge euery thing according to the reporte and opinion of others, may haue the truth deliuered of what they ought to beleue, of the house of Medices.

The race hath appeared very great, highly renowned, and most honourable as well among the Christians as many of contrary faith: be it that you looke into the Fathers stocke an Italian, or the Mothers a French: for the first being endued with the vertues of charitie and discrete liberalitie (either publique or priuate) for the foundation of her greatnes, a man would iudge the polittique gouernement of the Medices in Florence, much more worthy of praise, then the raigne of a number of other christian Princes: their power & credit increased by *Iohn de Medices*, (named of *Bicci*) contrary to the Nobles, who sought cleane to ruine the whole estate of the towne, so as hauing bene preferred to all their dignities and estates, without euer suing for any one, peaceable and succourable to all, hee dyed most rich and wealthie, freended of euery man: leaving as well for heire of his vertues as his fortune, *Cosme* surnamed the great, in respect he was the most famous personage, (not bearing arms) which euer was seene or read of in any discourse, remarked aboue all his vertues for his magnificent liberalitie, from whence all men reaped profit, and advancement in their affaires: euen so farre as he made search to helpe any of the Nobles, or other which he knew stood in any wante, to relieue their diseases, so as when hee was dead, the names of al his fellow Citizens were found in an inuertour which *Pierre* his sonne tooke of his goods: carrying the tytle of *Father of the Countrie*, which the Tuscans caused to be engraue upon his Tombe. And albeit the life of *Pierre* and his vertue was much more short then was expected, he left behinde him notwithstanding *Laurence* and *Julian* of Medices, so renowned in their time, that hee being traiterously murdered by his enemies (leauing a Posthumus named *Clement* the seauenth) the Prince of the Turkes would not faile, but with speede enough send *Bernard Baudin* the murthrer to *Laurence* to vse him at his pleasure, so much had he their honour in commendation. But so greatly were his graces recommended through Italy, that euen as hee liuing, they balanced his vertue in counterweight of the vices of the Christian Potentates for maintaining of whole Italye and all the Princes adioyning in peace, so hee being departed, all the Lordes of Italye before rayned with the brydle of his wife councelles, tooke such a libertie to their free passions, that *Charles* the eight, drawne in by the Duke of Milan against the King of Aragon, for the conquest of Naples, and as soone the rest of the Potentates banding against him, and since among themselves Italye neuer had from that time other occasion, then to mourne the losse of his presence, whome they knewe not sufficiently enough to honor, considering the greatnes of his deserts: hee left behinde him *Pierre*, *Julian*, and *Iohn*, which was Led the tenth.

So as *Julian* being departed without issue, his goods and credite descended to *Pierre*,

E

though

The Protestants demand of the Emperour.

Election of the K. of Romanes.

Frederic of Saxe elector dieth.

Accord betweene Frederic K. of Bohemia and the D. of Saxe.

Peace throughout Germany and Religion free.

The race and descent of Medices, in which the translator doth desire the indifferent Reader to consider what scandalous libels haue of late yeares by to humorous affecti- ons bene cast out in discourse of the house of Medices, onely to abate the royal race of Vallois, of this look Guicciardin in his first booke, &c.

solicited by the Pope and other of the Cleargye, seemed that he would make the Protestants range themselves to the common doctrine: but for that certain Princes more peaceably addicted among the Catholicks, saw that that could not be brought to passe but with great inconueniences to all Germany, considering that the Protestant Princes and confederate Citties had already prepared themselves, they counselled the Emperour to assigne some daies, to examine therein their doctrine, and to seeke meanes of peace and accord in religion, which often had bene assaied and cuer in vaine, by reason of the great difference thereof: and that the Princes (as *Luther* at other times had done by Pope *Leo* his Bull) had appealed from the Decree of Ausbourg to a future councell, to whom properly appertained the debating of Religion. In the end notwithstanding about the beginning of October, the Princes wrote againe to the deputies Embassadors for peace, that if any did thinke or could proue that their doctrine proposed at Ausbourg were erroneous in any point, or in default of so doing, would submit himselfe to the testimony of the holy Scripture, they held it most agreeable, that if the Emperour would assigne a day at Spire, and giue safe conduct and oftages to themselves, their associates and *Luther*, which they ment to bring thether, besides if he would permit their free and publique preachings, together with the vse of the Supper according to Christs institution, and not constrain them to make difference of meates, they or their Deputies would be present with full power: and if their doctrine were not confuted, they trusted the Emperour would no more hinder them in their Religion. In the mean time since that they had formed an appeale to a lawfull Councell, they besought the Emperour that he would not in the meane season innouate ought against them. Now besides the point of religion, the election of *Ferdinando* to be K. of Romans, was proposed by the Emperour, and courageously refused by the Duke of Saxe, (who died about the 13. of August 1532.) and other Protestantes, in fauour of whom the King of Fraunce had already assigned one hundred thousand crownes. But in the end of Iune 1534. by accord made betweene *Ferdinand* and the sonne of *Frederic* late departed, it was said among other things, that he should acknowledge him for K. of Romanes without preiudice to come to the Electors, and that within two moneths the Emperour should ratifie the succession of *Frederic*, as well to the goods of his Father as his Grandfather: and should confirme the mariage passed with the Duke of Cleues. In summe the endeuourers of peace, the Bishop of Maience and elector Palatin, preuailed so farre, and the Turkes comming into Austria more, that the Emperour to haue succour of all handes, in the beginning of Iune 1532. at a day helde at Noremberg, confirmed a generall peace throughout all Germany, with forbidding any should be troubled for Religion vntill a Councell, or if that helde not, vntill the Estates had found meanes to appease that difference, vpon greuous paines to the breakers thereof, and promised himselfe would be a meanes to the Pope, that a Councell should be published within sixe moneths, to begin one yeare after: or if the Councell should not holde, aduice should be taken in the imperiall daies, to resolue the whole: to which the protestants promised to doe all dutie against the Turke. Concluded the 23. of Ianuarie, and ratified the second of August, by the Emperour, and afterwards published, the Emperour holding a day at Ratisbone.

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Religion free.

Katherine his Neece to *Henry* Duke of Orleans, being 15. yeates of age, a mariage no lesse coueted of the one side then the other. True it is that *Clement* would neuer assure himselfe thoroughly thereof, vntill he saw them in bed together. The K. in like sorte (notwithstanding any offers and assurances which the Emperour & other Princes offered vnto the Pope, so as he would not perseuere therein,) tooke no rest vntill it was accomplished, as well for the dignitie and singular recommendation of that race, and the hope which his affaires might breede in Italye, as contrariwise, that the Emperour might soone enough thereby be impayrd: Now to the ende that such as willingly suffer themselves to be commaunded by their passions, or in like sorte iudge euery thing according to the reporte and opinion of others, may haue the truth deliuered of what they ought to beleue, of the house of Medices.

The race hath appeared very great, highlye renowned, and most honourable as well among the Christians as many of contrary faith: be it that you looke into the Fathers stocke an Italian, or the Mothers a French: for the first being endewed with the vertues of charitie and discrete liberalitie (eicher publique or priuate) for the foundation of her greatnes, a man would iudge the polittique gouernement of the Medices in Florence, much more worthy of praise, then the raigne of a number of other christian Princes: their power & credit increased by *Iohn de Medices*, (named of *Bicci*) contrary to the Nobles, who sought cleane to ruine the whole estate of the towne, so as hauing bene preferred to all their dignities and estates, without euer suing for any one, peaceable and succourable to all, hee dyed most rich and wealthie, freended of euery man: leauing as well for heire of his vertues as his fortune, *Cosme* surnamed the great, in respect he was the most famous personage, (not bearing arms) which cuer was seene or read of in any discourse, remarqued aboue all his vertues for his magnificent liberalitie, from whence all men reaped profit, and aduancement in their affaires: euen so farre as he made search to helpe any of the Nobles, or other which he knew stood in any wante, to releue their diseases, so as when hee was dead, the names of al his fellow Citizens were found in an inuertour which *Pierre* his sonne tooke of his goods: carrying the tytle of *Father of the Countrey*, which the Tuscanes caused to be engrauen vpon his Tombe. And albeit the life of *Pierre* and his vertue was much more short then he was expected, he left behinde him notwithstanding *Laurence* and *Iulian* of Medices, so rehownded in their time, that hee being traiterously murdered by his enemies (leauing a Posthumus named *Clement* the seauenth) the Prince of the Turkes would not sayle, but with speede enough send *Bernard Baudin* the murderer to *Laurence* to vse him at his pleasure, so much had he their honour in recommendation. But so greatly were his graces recommended through Italy, that euen as hee liuing, they balanced his vertue in counterweight of the vices of the Christian Potentates for maintaining of whole Italye and all the Princes adioyning in peace, so hee being departed, all the Lordes of Italye before rayned with the brydle of his wise councelles, tooke such a libertie to their free passions, that *Charles* the eight, drawne in by the Duke of Milan against the King of Aragon, for the conquest of Naples, and as soone the rest of the Potentates banding against him, and since among themselves Italye neuer had from that time other occasion, then to mourne the losse of his presence, whome they knewe not sufficiently enough to honor, considering the greatnes of his deserts: hee left behinde him *Pierre*, *Iulian*, and *Iohn*, which was *Leo* the tenth.

So as *Iulian* being departed without issue, his goods and credite descended to *Pierre*, though

The race and descent of Medices, in which the translator doth desire the indifferēt Reader to consider what scandalous libels haue of late yeares by to humours affectiōs bene cast out in disgrace of the house of Medices, onely to abate the royal race of Valois, of this look Guicciardin in his first booke, &c.

though chased out of Florence, he was after drowned at the mouth of Gariglan, leaving for his heire *Laurence* of Medices, whome Pope *Leo* and *Frauncis* the first married to *Madame Magdalaine* of the house of Bologne, predecessors to the Q. Mother, who in steade of the Countie of Bologne, enioyed the Countie of Lauraguez in Languedoc; for so much as *Lewis* 11. would needs haue the Countie of Bologne in exchange for Lauraguez at the hands of *Bertrande* Earle of Auvergne, great Grandfather to the saide Queen. See now the race on the mother side, deriued from *Robert* the last of that name, Earle of Bologne and Auvergne, (whose ancestors helde ranke about the Kings before the Constables, Chancelors, great Chamberlaynes, or other officers of the crowne) who left *Guillaume* and *John* his heires: the firste had onely *Isidore* married to *Philip* Duke of Burgundie, and in her second marriage to *John* K. of Fraunce, to whome by will deceasing without issue, she lefte the Duchie of Burgundie. And so the Counties of Bologne and Auvergne came to *John* her Vnckle, who had *John* which married *Eleonor* of Comminges, of whom he had *Isane*, whom she brought to the Caste of Ortais to *Gaston de Foix* her Cofin, brother in lawe to *Charles* the first K. of Nauarre, and left her there, fearing least the Earle of Armignac who had taken from her the Earledome of Comminges should take her to wife, to the end he might make himselfe a peaceable Lord: and went her selfe to abide with her Vnckle the Earle of Durgelin in Aragon; but her daughter was married vnto *John* Duke of Bertie, widower of *Isane* of Armignac, dying notwithstanding without issue, succeeded vnto her in the Counties of Bologne & Auvergne, *Mary* of Bologne her Cofin germane, who was married to the Lord de la Tour, and of Montgascou father to *Bertrant de la Tour*, and *Gabrielle* wife of *Lewis de Bourbon*, first Earle of Montpensier, great Grandfather to the Duke liuing. Afterwards came *Magdalaine* wife to *Laurence* of Medices, ancestors to *Catherine* of Medices, Q. Mother to the K. liuing at this present day.

The Q. Mother descended out of the house of Bologne by the mother side.

K. Frauncis auereth the Protestants.

Pope Clement dieth, Paul Ferneze succeedeth.

Persecutions in Fraunce.

About this time the Landgraue being come into Fraunce 1533. got of the K. a masse of monie, to continue the amitie which he carried vnto the Princes of Germany, vpon the mortgage of the Countie of Montbelliard, in the name of *Frich* D. of Witemberge his Cofin, by the league of *Suabe* expelled his Duchie, (giuen by the same League to the Emperour, who since gaue it to *Ferdinand* in partage) vpon condition that if he were not repaid within three yeares, the Countie should remain vnto him; he had besides other monie of his liberalitie, and with that hee leuied men and recovered the Countie, and placed against his Cofin in May 1534. Afterwards paid the first monie back, gratified with an ouerplus: vpon this *Clement* 7. who at the marriage of his Niece to pleasure the K. had made Cardinals *Odes de Chastillon*, *Philip de Bologne*, *Claude de Guiry*, and *John le Venier* B. of Liseux, having runne sundry fortunes dieth in the end of September 1534. *Paul Ferneze* succeeding him, who presently made Cardinales *Alexander* sonne to *Pierre Louis* his base sonne, and *Ascanio* sonne of *Catherine* his base daughter.

As the doctrine of *Luther* profited in Germany, Flanders, England, Italy, &c. countries adioyning, Fraunce felt it no lesse, rather it seemed to increase by the greatnes of persecutions, which might be seene, by the horre persecutions in the yeare 1534. for searches and informations were no soone made of the prisoners, but they were as speedily burned quicke, tyed to a stake, after swinged into the ayre, were let fall into the fire, and so by a pullice pulled vp and downe, vntill a man might see them all roasted and scorched by a small fire, without complaining, not able to speak, by reason that

that they had taken out their tongue, and gagged: Afterwards the K. to the ende that might not be a meanes of diminishing of the Princes of the Empire their amitye towards him, and to turne away the wrath of God which hee feared would fall vpon his Realme, for the opinion of these people made a solemn and generall procession to be made at Paris, where the relique of Saint *Genewiese* patrones of the Parisians descended, which happeneth but rarely. In the meane time hee excused himselfe towards the Protestant Princes by his Embassadour, assuring them that he made them to be punished for their sedition, not for their faith; to conferre whereof hee prayed them to send some of their diuines to meete with his, for as hee saide Pope *Leo* had himselfe heretofore tolde him, that he must needs acknowledge many light ceremonies and humane traditions, which were fit to be changed in time: afterwards *Guillaume du Bellay* called *de Langeay*, his Embassadour about them, being assembled 1535. at Smalcade; seeing that he could not conclude a generall alliance with them, (for they euer excepted the Empire and the Emperour) returned without doing ought, after hauing exhorted them in the Kings name, not to receiue *Mantoue* for the place of Councell which the Pope promised, nor any other place without aduise of the K. of Fraunce and England, who would doe nothing the one without the other. *Louis* 12. K. of Fraunce said, he by his Embassadour in time past, maintained that it did not appertain to Pope *Jules* to publish a councell, without consent of the Emperour and christian Princes, and because the K. of Nauarre was of the same opinion, *Jules* excommunicated him, and vnder this title *Ferdinand* K. of Spaine sealed of the Kingdome of Nauarre: the K. of Fraunce is at this present of the same opinion, that he can allow of no councell but in a sure place, not suspicious, where it may be lawfull for euery man to deliuer his minde. *Edward Foxe* B. of Hereford, Embassadour for the K. of England, spake much more affectionately, and shewed that his maister greatly affected the same doctrine, which he had already in a great part established within his Realme, for which the protestant Princes humbly thanked the, praying that they would no more suffer such as were of like faith as they, to be persecuted: After the 12. of December 1535. by a decree made at Smalcade on Christmas euen, they renewed for ten yeares their alliance which expired at the end of that yeare, and deliberating among the rest of prouision and munitions, it was there concluded, that they would all receiue the confession of Ausbourgh, and be content to runne the same race: among other there were the Princes of Pomerany, *Frich* of Witemberg, *Robert* of Bauiere, he of Deuxports, the Citties of Ausbourg, Franckeforde, Campodum, Hambourg, and Hano-bry, with many more, who ioyned themselves at Franckford in April 1536. and after *Guillaume de Nassaw*, and albeit that the Landgraue did not accord with them there, in respect of their claim which was made to the signory of Hesse, yer he promised that if there should be any outrage for the profession of the Gospel, he would not abandon them whatsoeuer ensued thereon. In the end of March 1538. *Christian* K. of Denmarck and *John* Marquesse of Brandebourg, brother to the Elector, were both receued therein. Now for so much as *Helde* who had bene sent from the Emperour to the Germane Princes, to bring them to agree to such a Councell as the Pope had assigned, and therein to resolute vpon all their differences in religion, &c. could gaine nothing, charging them euery way, if they refused so reasonable conditions of Peace, hee framed a League, of which hee saide the Emperour & King *Ferdinand* were the authors, the associates to be the Archbishops of Mayence, and of Salisbourg, *Guillaume* & *Louis* of Bauiere, *George* of Saxe, *Eric* & *Henry* of Brunswich, that it was concluded vpon at Noremberg, vpon condition that if any were troubled for the ancient religion, succour,

The Pope hath no authority to assigne a councell.

cour should be ready at hand, and to endure for 12. years vnder the name of the holy League, as made for the glory of God, and defence of the Church. Afterwards 1539. the 19. of Aprill at Francforte, the peace of Germany was accorded vpon such conditions: the Emperour grauntesh to the confederates of the confession of Ausbourg which are at this present, that he will holde a Colloquie of learned men within 15. moneths for the matter of Religion, that he will make an Edict, forbidding any to be disquieted for their conscience, that the accord of Noremberg and imperiall Edict of Ratisbone, shall remaine in full force, if within 15. moneths Religion were not fullye accorded, this peace should holde vntill the first assembly of the Empire, that if a Diette should happen before these 15. moneths were expired, then this peace shall take place vntill the next: the Protestants should in like sorte doe their duty and remaine in peace.

(4)
According to
the Romaine
Emperours,
who named
the infor-
mers quadru-
platores.

To continue the paines and pursutes against the Lutheranes in Fraunce, after that *Fraunce* the first had ordained the like paine to the concealer as to the Lutherain, and the (4) fourth part of his goods which was accused, to the informer, at Paris the 19. of Ianuary 1534. for that it was reported vnto him, that with the encrease of their paines encreased the number of Lutheranes, to dispatch the cognifance and iudgement of them retarded often through the difference between the royall Iudges and the ecclesiasticall, he gaue all to the royall at first instance indifferentlye, and concurring with the soueraign Courtes, and without attending any degrees of appellations, as well against the Layety as Clergy, not having sacred orders, noble, well and free borne, or not, for the end with speede to certifie the whole vnto the criminall chamber of Parliament, yea punishing of Iudges and inferior officers, by deprivation of their estates, fines or otherwise, as they saw them not to haue diligently or faithfully enough proceeded, to the accomplishment of their proces, in ordaining as much to the Prouosts and other Iudges, immediately resorting to Soueraigne Courtes, that they should sende the enditement with the offender, to the Bailis, Seneschales, or their Lieutenants, which should certifie them to the Parliament as aboue said. And to all temporall subiects, and high Iusticers, to make diligent inquirie of the Lutheranes, to lende a strong hand, and all fauour to his Iudges, or to certifie vnto them such full proceedings, as they should finde against them as aboue saide: willing that in case of negligence or other fault, his Proctor generall should take the conclusions, to the commitment or deprivation of the Iustices, and other paines as reason ledde them, and to all other secular and ecclesiasticall subiects, vpon paine of incurring high treason, enioyning both his generall and peticular, Proctors and Aduocates, to aduertise him what they should doe from sixe moneths to six moneths, vpon paine of suspending of their estates for the first crime, and deprivation for the second, with condigna recompence if they perfourmed their dutie, towards the rooting out of such and like heresies: not meaning thereby that the Prelates, Clergie, their officials, Vicars, and inquisitors of the faith should cease, to informe and proceed against their owne subiectes and iusticiables, hauing sacred orders, subiect to degradation, being culpable, of the sectes and heresies vpon the common faulte, but exhorted them to doe it, and to their iusticers gaue all aide and fauour. At Fountainebleau the first of Iune 1542. Afterwards from Lyons the 30. of August, hee commaunded his Parliament of Paris to search out and punish the assemblye of Lutheranes, in their resortes, and gaue like charge to them of the Church to doe the like: who from foure moneths to foure moneths were to certifie the Parliament, of their diligence in this behalfe.

In la-

In Ianuary 1540. there was a day assigned by the Emperour at Ratisbone for a peace to be concluded throughout Germany, and a vnion of faith, and in the meane time was a colloquie at Wormes, to prepare the accorde, but being broken by the Emperours Letters, the whole was referred to Ratisbone, in Aprill whether the Emperour came in person, in whose name his dutie towards the Common wealth, hauing beene proposed, and certaine Diuines chosen on the one side and the other, for to conferre with the Presidents, witnesses and Notaires the 27. of Aprill, *Granuelle* offered vnto them all a booke in written hand, which he said had beene presented vnto the Emperour, by certaine well affected and learned men, as a matter proper to make both parties of accorde, containing the principall points of the doctrine: wherefore the Emperour was willing, to the end they might haue a lawfull argument, and good entrance to the matter, that both parties should examine it together: approuing and reproving as best seemed good vnto them: it was in some corrected, and certaine articles approued, other not: so as contrary to the Catholique Princes minds, and to *Conteran* the Popes Embassador, (who saide they would not change ought of the Religion already receaued, that the matter of religion ought not to bee determined but by a Councell, and the whole should be sent backe to the Pope, who for that end had promised one) the Emperour made a decree the 28. of Iuly 1541. by which hee put ouer the colloquie of the learned men, and all the affayres to a Councell, and for defaulte thereof, because an opinion was helde that the Pope would thur it by many delays, to an assemblye of all Germany, or the estates of the whole Empire, hee promised to sollicite the Pope for a Councell, and in defaulte of a generall or prouinciall, hee would ordaine a day imperiall within 18. moneths, to accord Religion, and that the Pope should send thither his Embassadour, commaunding the Protestants not to innouate ought from the accorded articles, which should stand in force vntill then, and further suspend the decree of Ausbourg, enioyning the cleargie to reforme their life, their abuses, and Churches after all, one side and the other promised succours against the Turke, which was come downe into Hungarie & Austria, and had seased vpon Bude, Hungarie, and Pest, hauing defeated the army of *Ferdinande*, with great mortalitie of the Christians, while that their Princes stood disputing and quareling together, like people irreconcilable. This was also confirmed in a daye at Spire, in Iune 1544. And other daye was helde at Wormes in Aprill and May 1545. where the Emperour referring the matter of Religion to a Councell, (for the Pope had coursed him that he should vndertake to decide the matter of religion by a conference of Laye men, appertaining onely to him) would meddle only in taking order against the Turke: the Protestants contrariwise saide, that they would contribute nothing towards it, and much lesse goe themselves, if they had not first an accord or an assured peace for Religion, by reason of which, their wiues, children, and subiects, might be tormented in their absence: so as nothing being done, the Emperour ordained a Colloquie for Religion at Ratisbone among the best learned, in December 1546. where the Disputers, witnesses, and auditors, being chosen, the Saxon saide that he would not approue of the conditions of the colloquie, and reuoked his people, after the Landgraue and other of the Protestants did the like, promising to returne if the colloquie continued. Hereupon the councel of Trent, published the yere passed on the 15. of March, began in the end of the yere 1546. The Pope hauing sent thither as his Legats, *Iohn Maria de Monte*, *Marcel Seruin*, and *Reinold Pole* an Englishman all Cardinals, *Iacques Mendose* came thither to excuse the emperours absence, vpon the testimony which he had often redred of his diligence in purchasing of that assembly,

The Emperours Interim.

The Protestants oppose themselves to the decree of the Emperour.

Council of Trent.

and his dutie and obedience towards the holy Sea, and that which should be ordained. But more then the Monkes orations to the fathers, and publication of the Bul of the Popes great pardons, there was nothing done, because the Fathers hastned no whit thither, sauing that the 7. of Ianuary where besides the Cardinales, were foure Archbishops, thirtie three Bishops, two French, fise Spaniards, one Illiric, the other Italians, thirtie fise Monkes, and twelue not Monkes: as the number of Bishoppes grewe somewhat greater the Councell began, and after they were all assembled in the great Temple, and that Masse was saide, the Legats read their Orations to the Fathers. Afterwards it was declared how that the Councell was helde for three causes: to roote out heresies, restore the discipline of the Church, and recover peace: vpon that they said that the fault of the present calamitie ought to be imputed to the Ecclesiasticall estate, considering that none did their dutie, nor diligent to labour in the fiele of the Lord, whence heresies sprung vp like thornes, and albeit that they were not of their owne parte the inuenters of any heresies, yet they were to be charged for not well tylling of the Vineyard, they haue not sowed the fiele, they haue not plucked vp the Darnell which began to spring vp, that they then ought to aduise, and euery man to examine his owne conscience, and trye if he haue perfourmed his dutie: it is certaine that they were to be blamed, for that all the discipline of the Church had been so trodden vnder foot: the third euill is warre, which is a punishment lent from God, in respect of carelesnesse in religion and want of discipline: for Christendome standeth not onely inuaded by Turkes and strangers, but also by ciuill and domestick armes: during that the Kings combate, or that they which are revolted from the obedience of their Pastors, doe ouerthrowe all order, and pyll the goods of the Church, they haue administred the occasion to the euils, by their most wicked example of life through ambition and couetousnes. God then is the iust Iudge, which afflicteth them by these meanes, and yet the paine is much more gentle then their deserte. True it is that such are happy as endure for righteousness sake, which may not be applyed to those which are worthy of more rude chastisement, that euery one then acknowledge his sinne, and endeour to appease the wrath of God: for if they doe not acknowledge that, there will neuer be any amendment, and for no end shall the Councell be helde, and in vaine shall the ayde of the holy Ghost bee called vpon, it is a singular benefite of God, to haue giuen vnto vs the meanes to begin a councell, after the Church deliuered from so long and greuous a shipwrack, taking harbour, is no more nor lesse restored, then was Hierusalem after so long a captiuitie. *Esfdras, Nehemias*, and the other Captaines, being returned out of Iudea, earnestly admonished the people of Israel, to confesse their owne sinnes and their Fathers, and to call vpon the diuine mercie, we ought to follow the like example. He found in that time scoffers, which sought to hinder, and mocked the Iewes, which reedified the Cittie of Hierusalem: we in our time haue no want of people, which vndertake the like, and in effect perfourme it: but we must march on hardly, in the assurance of Christ, whose commaundement is heere executed, and the business set in hand. But for so much they are heere as Iudges, they ought well to aduise, not to suffer themselves to be ledde by their affections, but holde themselves neare from the hatred of wrath and enmitie, not ordaining ought to please man in this world, nor accomodating themselves to the cares or desire of any person, but contrariwise yeeld all honor and glory to God alone: for all estates are straied out of the right way, and there is none which doth good. God himselfe and his Angels are the beholders of this assembly, and there is no thought of any the assistants, which is hid from

from him, that they should then proceede roundly and soundly, and that the Bishops which are sent from Kinges and Princes should so furnishe their charges, that about all thinges they haue the reuerence and honor of God before their eyes, without respect of hatred or fauour: for considering the assembly is helde to establish peace, they must cast farre from them all contention and partialitye. The Oration finished, the decree of the Synod was read by *Iohn, Fonseca* B. of Castrimare, a Spaniard, by which all Christians were admonished to amend their liues, feare God, often confesse themselves, and often visite the Monasteries of Saintes, that they should pray to God for a publique peace; that the Bishops and other Priestes should be attentue to praiers, and say Masse at the least euery Sunday, praying for the Pope, Emperour, and whole Christendome: that they likewise exercise themselves in fasting and doing of almes in the great Temple; that euery Thursday in the weeke they say a Masse of the holy Ghost, and during the saying thereof, that all be attentue to the Priest, especially in time of the Sacrifice, and that they keepe themselves from chatting; that the Bishops liue soberly, taking away all superfluitie of their tables, shunning all idle and light discourse, that they accustome their people to like discipline, in sorte that they shew themselves honest in words, apparell, and whatsoeuer they shall doe. And for so much as the end of the Councell is to endeour that the darkenes of errors and heresies, which since a good while haue rained vpon the earth, being chased away, the light of the truth may shine forth; all are admonished, and especially men of knowledge, carefully to aduise by what meanes this may be brought to passe, in deliuering of their opinions, that they followe the decree of the Councell of Toledo, and doe all thinges modestlye without cries, nor be riotous or obstinate, but pronounce all sweetely and leasurably. The other Sesion was the fourth of Februarye, where nothing was dispatched nor resolved, saue onely that they confessed the Creede of the faith, and put ouer the other Sesion vntill the eight of Aprill, by reason of such as were already on their way, whom they thought good to attend, to the end the authority of the decrees might be of greater weight.

During this Councell, *Luther* of the age of threescore and three yeares, sicke of a disease in his stomacke, dyed the 18. of February 1546. at Illebe in the Countie of Manshilde, whether he was gone to appeale certaine differents which were between the Counts for their liuings and inheritance, in forme of an amiable compounder and Arbitrator. And albeit they desired they might bury him in their Countrey, yet the Elector of Saxewould needs haue him brought to Witemberg. He left of a Nunne which he married 1505. *Iohn, Martin*, and *Paul*, his children, which haue not followed any course, either for the diminishing or encrease of his reputation.

Hercupon to confirme the suspitions which many had of a warre at hand for Religion in Germany, were seene the first effects in the holy League of the Imperialles, and that of the Protestants made and renewed at Smalcade as I haue declared vnto you.

Moreouer the Emperour being from day to day egged forward by the Pope and Catholick Princes, now discouering himself, writeth to the cities of Strasbourg, Noremberg, Ausbourg, and Vlme, to aduertise them of his entent, and drawe succour from them, at the least not to fauour the enemies of the common Countrey, and of Christian Religion, giuing them to vnderstand, after he had made them see what his dutie and affection was to the good of the common wealth of Germany, how this warre was not prepared against the Citties, but against certaine rebels, which had committed treason, who had confronted the authoritie of the Emperour, pilld the

Decree of the
Councell of
Trent.

Martin Lu-
ther dieth
1546.

The Empe-
rour writeth
to the townes
for succour.

The townes
send answers.

Speech be-
tweene the
Emperour
and Land-
graue.

The holy
league be-
tweene Pope,
Emperour,
and other
Princes.

goods of Princes and of the Church, and would in the end the townes too, if they were not bemet withall : that they should then aduise themselves well of their dutie, both towards him and the common countrie; who, and especially Strasbourge, besought him to leaue off this preparation of warre, and if the Princes had done him wronge, rather to order them by iustice, then by armes to ruine all Germany, considering that all differents betweene an Emperour and the Princes ought to be adiudged by the Empire. Now as the Landgraue, being called for by him, had in familiar speeche at Ratisbone (where the continuance of the Colloquie was assigned) tolde him that his companions had bene aduertised from all partes, how he meant cleane to runne ouer those of the confession of Ausbourg, how he attended succours from the K. of Fraunce, & how he had made truce for one yeare with the turke, by means of the French, and that this counsell had bene begun by the Pope, to the end the decrees made against them might be put in execution, notwithstanding that they had yielded him succour against the Turk and King of Fraunce, and that as well at Spire as at Ratisbone he had assured the of a firme peace, albeit they could not accord of religion, he answered that he neuer thought it, praying them not to beleue such reportes : that he had made peace with the French, it was all, and truce with the Turke to make poore Germany take so much more breath, to the end that during this truce they might make ready to ouerrunne the Turke, when it should be extermied, considering chiefly that they about all, had so oftentimes lamented the misery of Germanie : but that the counsell helde to determine the matter of Religion as they had so often required. And after that the Landgraue had replied, that there could bee no good concluded for them, considering the Pope their mortall enemy commaunded there, and that euen the Monkes called againe there in doubt the articles accorded, that they were promised a free and sure on in Germany, together with the reformation of the Imperiall chamber so bitter against them, and that hardly they could send their Doctors, much lesse come themselves to Ratisbone as the Emperour desired, for the reasons which he alleadged, he retyred himselfe into his Countrie, and anon after their Deputies at Wormes hauing intelligence of this communication, slunk away the 23. of Aprill, the 8. whereof the fathers cōcluded vpon certain points, but of the generall sorte and least controuersied in the Church. In summe the holy league was set downe in writing, and after the 25. of Iune 1546. proclaimed, by which the Pope consigned one hundred and 50000. Crowns at Venice, ouer & about one hundred thousand already giuen, and furnished twelue thousand Italian Fantassins and 500. Horse, paide for sixe monthes, permitting vnto the Emperour to take for that yeare the moitie of the reuenue of the churchmen in Spaine, and to sel as much of the yearely rents of the Monasteries of Spaine, as amounted vnto fise hundred thousand Crownes, so as he employed them onely in this war : vpon condition that hee should mortgage as much of his own demaine, for which he should make assurance, to the Popes good liking. Vpon this *Vrich* of Witemberg, and the Cities of high Germanie were first in armes against the Emperour, after the Princes ioyned themselves, the Elector Palatine standing neutrall, praied them to submit themselves, and demand pardon of the Emperour. They, the Emperour, and Pope, entreated the Zuizers to stand Neutrall. The Protestants sought succours of the K. of Fraunce and England. Now the Emperour sought to hide his game, vntill his forces might be in readines, namely, the Italians which were to passe the Alpes, where the passages are easie to be kept, for there are but two to goe into Germany, from Trent to Enipont. To goe from thence into Bauiere where the Emperour was, stode at the parting of the

the Mountaines, Ereberge, a forte almost impregnable, *Shurtelin* a Protestant Capitaine leaseth thereof, and had done as much as *Enipont*, had not the subiects of K. *Ferdinand* risen. So the Italians came vnder, *Ottavian Farnesse* Cardinall, with many renowned Captaines : *Cosme* of Medices ioyned thereto 200. Horse of ordinance; *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara* 100. vnder *Alphonse* his base brother : the 20. of Iuly the Emperour bannished the Saxon and Landgraue by his letters Pattents, in which hee declared the reason at large, as periured persons, rebels, seditious, guiltie of treason, and disturbers of the publique tranquillitie, whome he determined to chastice according to their deserte, with all those that should take their parte. And the 12. of August the Protestants sent him letters of defiance, naming him but *Charles* pretending himselfe Emperour. Vpon this the Emperour sent the first of August the copie of their banishment to *Maurice*, who hauing talked very familiarly with the Emperour, went home, and thence to Prague towards *Ferdinand*. Now for that he was neer kinsman to the bannished, in sorte that he might pretend some right to their goods, he commaunded him and his brother *Augustus* to leaue thereon, otherwise it should be to the first occupier : in sorte that the right of consanguinitie and contracts should nothing at all serue his turne, ioyned withall that hee should be comprehended vnder the same paine, as hauing bene disobedient vnto him : and commaunded the Nobilitie, and people to fulfill his commandement.

The two armies being incamped before *Ingolstat* vpon the Danube, the Protestants were the stronger in number of horse and artillerie, but the Emperour had more Fantassins, Lords, and Captaines of Marke. In summe, the Protestants lost there a faire occasion, to haue broken the Emperour, who yet had not his campe well entrenched, nor the succour often thousand Fantassins, and foure thousand Horse, which the Counte de Bure brought vnto him, they also lost the time at *Nerlinge*, so as the Emperour being sealed of the places bordering of Danube, and hauing it so at his deuotion, as he could cause all sorte of victuall to be brought, pursued them then with great aduantage: for they ill husbanding the opportunities which presented themselves, and adding thereto that they were two heads equall, and banded in their opinions, *Schertelin* first, afterwards other, retyred themselves from them. *Maurice* in the meane time had praied his Cousin the D. of Saxe by his Father in lawe the Landgraue, to take in good parte that he sealed of his liuing, but perceiuing himselfe refused, ioyned with *Ferdinand*, who to enforce the Bohemians to ouerrunne Saxe, (vtterly refusing it, considering the alliance which they had made with that house, and for that they verily thought hee had wrong doone him) caused his caualerie of Husaries of Hungaries to come downe, and some Silesians, with whome he put all Saxe to fire and sword: *Maurice* euer saying, that hee had rather leaue thereof himselfe then a stranger should, considering that the mynes of siluer were common to him with his cousin, and that his landes were shutte in within the others, which hee made sure by this meanes : besides that hee did nothing but by the aduise of the estates, who had written to that end to his Cousin : and further that the Emperour had sworne vnto him, that hee ment no harme but to the Rebels, and not to Religion : wherefore in all cases the faith excepted, one ought to obeye that Magistrate, which suffered in his Countrie the exercise of religion ; and so determined to pursue his owne right, and the differences which so long time he had had with the Elector, fearing least his landes should fall into the handes of Strangers : offering when hee should be reconciled to the Emperour and *Ferdinand*, that he would restore vp al vnto him, whereof he certified his Cousin and his Sonne, so as the Hungarians follow.

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The Emperours
army against
the Luti.c.
ranks.

The Emperour
banisheth and
condemneth
the D. of
Saxe.

Protestants
desire the Em-
perour.

The Emperours
deuice to draw
Maurice a-
gainst his Co-
sin Elector of
Saxe.

The Protec-
tants fault
and error.

Maurice war-
reth against
his cousin and
the Protec-
tants.

ing of him, he tooke all the places except Gothe-aenac and Witemberge, binding all the subiects to sweare vnto him. For which he was misliked by euery man, rendring to poore a recompence vnto him, whom he ought to haue held for a father, & author of all his good. He was sonne to *Henric*, whose brother *George* Duke of Saxe, had ordained by his testament, that the Emperour should enioye his prouince vntill that his brother had renounced the Protestant Religion: But the Elector and *Landgrane* hindered it, making his testament to be broken, & tooke *Henric* and his children into their league. Moreover whereas *George* had giuen vnto him a pension in mony, & that they feared for spight of Religion he would refuse to pay it, the Protestants promised him in case it should fall out, to furnish the somme vnto him themselves, so the Saxon being called on that side, and seeing the *Landgrane* (hauing left vnto him his people) retyre himselfe, and that the Allies furnished no more supplies, hee went against *Maurice*, out of whose hands in the end he got againe all the places, and tooke a number of his people, and whatsoeuer *Ferdinand* had taken from him, shutting both them into Bohemia, he subiected to himselfe also the Bishoppricke of Magdeburg, and Halbestat, hauing consented with *John Albert* the Bishop. The Emperour in the meane time triumphed thoroughout Germanie, ordaining and imposing great ransomes to all the Princes, and Protestant Cities, euen to the Elector Palatine, who before as a Neutre, was readye to haue reformed his Churches by *Paul Fagginus*, had not this accident fallen out, and was faine to haue pardon of the Emperour for the 400. horse which hee had sent to the Protestants: albeit hee protested that it was not ment against him, but by right of Obligation, carried by a particular contract with the Duke of Witemberg. Whome likewise, and his sonne *Christopher* hee pardoned, but would not his brother *George*, all renouncing the Leage, and not speaking of Religion.

Afterwards the Emperour pursuing of the Saxon, the 22. of April 1547. arriued at Milsnes which *Frederic* had quit, and burning the wooden bridge, encamped himselfe at Mulburge neare the riuer of Albye; the Emperour still hastening for feare he should enclose himselfe within Witemberg. So as with a thousand Spanish Harquebusers, which waded into the water, to passe forward, he assailed the garde on the other shoare notwithstanding the Cannon shot, which showed downe on euerie side. Afterwards with the small Boates which *Frederic* had abandoned, hee made a bridge, ouer which the Hungarians of *Ferdinand* and the light horse passed first, followed with the rest, hastning to follow *Frederic*, who was reencountred 3. leagues from Albye, neare the Forrest Lochane, where hee charged him so hard, that after a long combat, he was defeated, hurt, taken and brought by the Duke of Alua vnto him, to whome hauing said, *I render my selfe thy prisoner, most mercifull Emperour; and pray thee to giue me entertainment worthy of a Prince*, he answered. Now then thou doest acknowledge me an Emperour, but I will handle thee according to thy desert. Shortly after being condemned to death, the Elector of Brandebourge so much appealed the Emperour, that he had his life, not refusing any conditions offered vnto him, fauoring to obey the Emperours ordinances or the Councell, chusing rather to die. It was then ordained that the Emperour should confiscate all his goods, which he gaue to *Ferdinand* and *Maurice*, vpon condition that *Maurice* should yeerely pay vnto the Saxon and his children fiftie thousand crownes. If it so seemed good to the Emperour and *Maurice*, he should enioy Gote, so as he rayled the Castle and fortified not the Towne. And for that hee was much in debt, *Maurice* shoulde giue vnto his children one hundred thousand crownes, to be employed to the payment of his debtes growne

The Elector
hurt taken &
brought to the
Emperour.

growne before the league of Smalcade: and that *Maurice* should discharge all such debtes as his lands, which had beene confiscat, and giuen vnto him by the Emperour were lyable vnto: And so all suites to be had at an ende, and his children to haue the vsufruite of the goods mentioned, if they approued these conditions, and the people likewise. And in respect his life was saued, he should for euer after remaine prisoner to the Emperour, and to his sonne the Prince of Spaine. Hee surrendred likewise his right and dignitie of Elector into the handes of the Emperour, who put *Maurice* as well in possession of the dignitie as lands of *Frederic*. And by his decree it was ordained, that if the other should chaunce to dye without heires males, *Augustus* his brother and his children should be in remainder thereunto, which was doone the 24. of Februarie 1548. at Witemberge. *Frederic* regarding the ceremonies of his house all the Electors present, the Landgrane vnder suertie of Brandebourge, *Maurice*, and *Volsunge* his sonnes in law, rendred himselfe almost to the discretion of the Emperour, who afterwards proposed a league at Vlme, to appease all such troubles as might ensue either for Religion or otherwise: But the whole was referred to Ausbourge. Hereupon the Landgrane hauing demanded, and receiued pardon, and promise that he should not remaine prisoner, was stayed and commaunded to follow the Emperour, after that he had accomplished all the rest of the conditions. For which *Maurice* and Brandebourge, being his suerties for his libertie grew in great rage; so as the Emperour to defraye the expence of his warre got, what with these ransomes, and otherwise among the Catholiques, and Lutherans aboute sixtene hundred thousand crownes, and well fise hundred peces of Artillerie, which hee sent into Spaine, Naples, Milan, and the low countrie.

The Emperour after these victories assigned a day first at Vlme, then at Ausbourge to accord points in Religion, reforme the iustice of the chamber, & obey the Councell. The Palatin, *Maurice*, and Brandebourge would not consent to any but in place free and sure. In the end, that thereby they might the sooner get the Landgrane out of prison they accorded one, and by their example, the more resolute Citties, by writing graunted somewhat of their demaunde: So as the Emperour being very ioyfull thereof, made great instance towards the Pope, that hee would remoue the Councell to Trent from Bologne where he had appointed it to be held 1544. in respect of the vnholifamnes of the aire said *Hierosme Fracastor* who monthly had a great pension from him. And vpon the difficultie which the Pope made therein, hee sent *Mendoza* to protest of his parte before the Pope, and the rest of Bologne, that hee held of no account whatsoeuer should be there concluded: declaring that he would prouide thereto well enough, by a lawfull conuocation of the estates of Germanie, 1548 which were of his very opinion being assembled at Ausbourge. And further for that he would not haue the Councell to bee cleane in dispaire of being held, the delaying thereof so much importing him, when as power was giuen vnto him to chuse the Collocutors, Iudges, and witnesses, he tooke *Iules Flug* Bishoppe of Numbourg, *Michael* of Sidoine, *John Alebe Agricola*, who 18. yeares before had beene a Lutheran, *Melancthon*, and *Brence*, who very secretly wrote a Booke of Religion, and after they had againe perused and corrected it, presented it vnto him: But *Bucer* finding many things contained therein, refused to signe it, saying that the Popes doctrine was there manifestly confirmed, and since that in like sorte they added fundrie other things: So as both the Pope and Protestants allowed of it, albeit small reformation was had therein of any such Articles as were generally receiued of the Catholiques. *Rome* generall of the *Iacobins* wrote against it at Rome, and so did *Robert* Bishoppe

Great ransomes which the Emperour had of the Germanes.

The Emperour would haue the Councell remoued fro Bologne to Trent.

oppe

oppe of Auranches in Fraunce, for that this booke permitted marriage to Priests, and the Supper vnder both kinds. The Emperour notwithstanding pressed the estates hard to sticke fast vnto it, and not to innouate any thing either in their preachings or writings to the contrarie, attending the decree of a Councell. Afterwards the fifteenth of May the Archbishop of Mayence cheefe of the Electors, thanked him for his so great care of the publike, in the name of them all, and saide that all ought to obey his decree: The which he accounted as a common approbation, and would not for euer after admit of any other reason or excuse to the contrarie, whosoever would say that they had not consented thereunto: In sort that he caused it to be imprinted both in the Latine, and vulgar Germaine tongues. Fower daies after he besought the estates to contribute by hed, towards the remedying of such inconueniences, as either for Religion or otherwise might fall out in the common wealth, and that the money might bee reserued as a publike treasor in some places fittest for that purpose, to haue succours readie at neede: and *Ferdinand* required as much to relecue him against the Turke the five yeares of truce being expired. Afterwardes the Emperour somewhat and superficially reformed the state of the Church about the end of Iune 1548. and caused a Booke to be imprinted: *Maurice* departing from Ausbourg about the end of 1548. went into his owne countrie, where his estates vrging him with his promise to maintaine among them the pure confession of Ausbourg, in the end hee caused to be made a forme of Religion which all ought to holde: from whence great Scandale arose. All the Princes and Cities except Breme, and Magdebourg consented to the decree of Ausbourg, an occasion that the latter was by the Emperour exposed as a pray to all such as would warre vpon him in the yeare 1549. Now as this decree of Ausbourg was already as it were generally receiued throughout all Germany, so greatly did the victorie and Spanish Garrisons of the Emperour, together with the Saxons and Landgraues imprisonment, astonish the people, at such time especially when there was an apparant chaunge of Religion throughout all the countries of *Maurice*, the ministers of the Churches of Lubec, Lunebourg, and Hambourg confuted well at length the Booke and decree of Ausbourg, by another contrarie, which they caused to be put in printe, whereof *Iohn Epin* was the principall author. Shortly after the Doctors of Magdebourg, *Nicholas Amstross*, and about all *Matthias Flaccius* an Illirique, borne in the Citie of Albonne, who since was one of the principall authors of the Ecclesiasticall historie of Magdebourg, and *Nicolas Le Cocq* opposed themselves stoutly against them of Wittemberg and Lipa, and condemned them in sundrie printed Bookes as dissemblers, ouer simple, to timorous, and by indifferent and meane things how they had made a high way to the papisticall Religion: the which at the first proceeding from a good beginning, grew in simplicitie, afterwards suffered it selfe to corrupt thorough a disordinate lycence of such thinges among the Christians of the prmitiue Church: who ouercome by litle and little, with to great a feare of displeasing, and roundly resisting such as at the first would bring in their fantasies for sure rules of Faith, in the end cleane marred, vnder a Maske of things indifferent and such like humaine traditions, the true and pure worde of God. For conclusion they set downe this rule, that all ceremonies and fashions, how indifferent soeuer they may be of themselves, are no more neate at this present, considering that the vertue, opinion and necessitie of seruice is now annexed thereunto, and that occasion of impietie is yeilded thereby. *Illirique* one of the authors of this learned and laborious Ecclesiasticall historie, had bene certaine yeares an Auditor and Disciple of *Melancthon*: but in this different, retyred himselfe to Magdebourg: and

and caused a Booke to be imprinted wherein he rendred the reason of his act. They of Hambrough wrote likewise to them of Wittemberg, & especially to *Phillip Melancthon*, making a Catalogue of such things as they termed Neuter, or indifferent, & setting downe what might bee receiued, and together prayed them to write openly of their side, what they would haue comprehended vnder that name, to the end men might agree on somewhat, & follow it without varying. And for feare least the name of Neutralitie might giue occasion to sundry other errors, which by litle and litle might bee engraued in the braines of men, *Melancthon*, a man sweete, fearefull, and a great enemy to all ryots, answered among other thinges that some seruitude might well be borne, provided that it were without any impietie.

Melancthon's
answere

Now not to long to leaue behinde, the persecution of the Catholikes against the Lutherans in the Realme of France: *K. Henry* seeing at Paris the 19 of Nouember 1549. the Edicts of his father very euill executed by the negligēce of the Ecclesiasticall Iudges which was complained of vnto him (contending with the soueraigne courts & other Iudges of their natural iurisdiccions & powers) ordained the better to conforme himselfe to the title of *Thrice-Christian*: that the Royal Iudges should take knowledge, loyntly of the said faults as the cases shoulde offer themselves: astouching the information & decree only, after hauing well executed the decree, & examined the accused, they should deliuer the vp to the Church, to iudge of the errors, or simple heresie, in case it proceeded rather of ignorance, error, & humaine frailtie, lightnes & britlenes of the tongue of the accused, then of meere malice or will to cut himselfe off from the vnion of the Church: and in case together with heresie were found any publike scandall popular commotion, sedition, or other crime importing any publike offence & consequently in case priueledged, then to be tryed by the Royal Iudges, & of the Church together. And after the common fault shal be iudged by the Church the the case priueledged shal be iudged by the Royal, charging that any appeale made fro the sentence shold be brought into Parliament. And for that the Iudge Ecclesiasticall had not the seasure of mens persons out of their Pretoire, for the aide with the one Iustice ought vnto the other, it was now giuen by priueledge vnto him, & as far as should please him, that in this crime only he might cause, vnder his authoritie, by their seargants, to be put in execution the decrees of such a sort of bodies as shold be iudged by the, without asking any permission of any secular Iudges, for feare that in delaying, the accused might be aduertised therof, & so escape, & if the ecclesiasticall iudge stood in need of any aide, it was enioyned to all officers Royal to execute the Ecclesiasticall decrees, without taking any knowledge of the cause. And in case the accused, or any such as it should bee decreed against, should absent themselves, it was ordained that the Iudge Royall, within three dayes shoulde proceede against them by seasure of their goods, that the accused shoulde bee deliuered vp to the iudge of the Church, to bee proceeded against as aboue saide. Afterwards vpon the engrosing of this Edict in Parliament at Paris the twentie nine of Nouember, the Court ordayned at the request of the Proctor generall, that vpon the plight shoulde bee set downe at the charge, that the Iudge Ecclesiasticall shal not condemne any man, for crime of heresie, be he lay or Clarke, in any pecuniarie fine: & further that when in crime of heresie he shall haue giuen any iudgement, either of perpetuall prison, or otherwise hee shall no more in the ende of the condemnation vse these accustomed wordes, *Salua misericordia Domini*: And that forbidding shoulde bee made as well of the one, as the other. And for that the Kinge perceiued how slowly enough they proceeded to the execution of this Edict, the greater parte of the Royall Iudges not so forward in fauouring the Ecclesiasticall as they desired, to bee meete therewith hee was

Persecution
of Lutherans.

councelled to send his commaundement to the Parliament of Paris from *Fountainbleau* the 9. of Februarie 1549. willing them to appoint commissioners out of their body, to make the inditements of such as stood euill affected to the faith, in case the Preliall, or otherwise the Royall Iudges should bee negligent, who should pay the expences of such appointed deputies.

Diet of Aus-
bourg.

Hereupon the 27. of Iuly the Emperour began, the day of *Ausbourg*, proposing there to continue the Councell, so keep the last decree of *Ausbourg*, to punish the rebels, & restore the jurisdiction and goods of the Church. But *Maurice* declared by his Embassadors, as it were alone against all the rest, that he could not avow the councell except all begun a fresh, and that the Diuines of the confession of *Ausbourg* might be ther hard, with power to decide the matters, that the Pope should not sit as chief, but submit himselfe to the Councell, that he should absolve all Bishops of their oath made vnto him, to the end they might freely deliuer their minde. But it was not permitted that this declaration should be registred. In the meane time *George D.* of *Megebourg* with a maine army waisted the coutry of *Magdebourg*, against whom the inhabitants & souldiers issued forth. But hauing in the hinder part of his army placed all the Marchants & Villagers, for that the best were in the fore front, they defeated the, took the Artillerie, Baggage, & sundry of the inhabitants. This done, as they intenaied not withstanding *Maurice* in al dury, the Elector of *Brandebourg*, *Albert* his colles, *Henry* of *Brunswick*, & sundry other addressed troups the better to shut the in. But salied forth vpon them conducted by certain Gentlemen, Captaines & souldiers, who in dispute of *Brunswick* were retired thither, and carried themselves so fortunately, as they took the army by the Emperour & the estates, with intent to block the in, ordaining one hundred thousand crownes for the expences past, & threescore thousand for euery moneth to come. Vpon the displeasure in the meane time which the Emperour conceiued for that the decree of *Ausbourg* was not practised, the Protestants said that they could not so soone roote out the Religion, which had so long time growne old in the hart of men & the Catholiques laide the fault vpon the Priests, negligence of Magistrates, & wickednes of the Lutheran ministers, so as nothing could be resolved of, but all referred to the Councell. Hereupon Pope *Iulij* assigned the Councell at *Trent* the first of May 1550. by his Bull which he sent vnto the Emperour. Now as the Emperour departing out of his countrie to come to *Ausbourg*, had left the *Landgrau* at *Malines*, *Maurice* and *Brandebourg* made earnest instance for his deliuerie: but it was answered that not onely hee, but also his children & Councillors had so be haued themselves, that hee might not as year be deliuered. The *Garde* likewise told him that he was to be carried into Spaine: which made him seeke aide of his children, to whom setting before their eyes the fidelitie wherewith they were tyed vnto him, hee gaue in charge, that they should cite *Maurice* to appeare according to the tenor of his obligation, which they did, and cited their friends many times most instantly. But they now together, now apart, one while by messengers, an other while in person, shewed that it would denie their turne to their profit nor their Father to run to worke so headly. And from time to time, alledged new reasons, whereby they hoped that hee might bee deliuered without any daunger. they prayed them then to take patience, and demanded respite. The Emperour who had alreadye solicited the *Landgrau*, by *De La Lave*, to deliuer vp into his handes the letters of Obligation, seeing himselfe againe importuned for his deliuerance, sent *Lazarus Schuende* to his Children and Councillors, commaunding them not onely hence forward to take heede they pressed no more: *Maurice* and *Brandebourg*, but also to sende vnto him all the letters and renoune

any

any more the following therof. If they sayled therin, he threatned the that they should well abide the burthen of it. And yet for all that he preuailed not, hee declared in like sort al such Princes as were bound quit, & absolved of their promises: The *Landgrau* then leing not any hope left, determined to make an escape if it were possible for him; vpon which he sundry times consulted with his people which he caused to come fro *Hesse*: But fearing the danger, they were very slack, in the end he made *Conrad Bredenstein*, & *John Romelia*, vnderake the matter, who from his owne countrie as far as *Malines* layd post horses, vpon which he might escape. But the matter came out by one of his owne seruants, who in great friendship had told one at *Malines*, that within a few howers he should be at liberty, for being come fro hand to hand to the captaine of the *Gards* eares, euen vpo the pinch that he was ready to take his heeles, the matter burst out and two of his seruants slaine in the place, the rest taken and beheaded, and him selfe clapped into a more close prison. Whereof the Emperour being aduertised, hee tooke it maruelously at the hart, & wrote to *Maurice* & *Brandebourg* that this so audacious an enterprise turned to his dishonor, being resolved rigorously to punish those which had either Councel or assisted him theria. They sent the Copie of these letters to *Guilleaume du Lanigraue*, telling him among other matters, that if he wold any more attempt the like, they would in nought be bouid vnto him: *Maurice* notwithstanding comforted him apart, promising for the deliuerance of their father not only al his substance, but also to aduenture his own life, assuring him that at such time as commoditie should present it selfe, he would represent himself in iustice, when as matters should be so settled as they should haue very small cause to care for the milke of any. Which made many to surmise that at that time he practised some league with the French.

The Land-
grauediscou-
red minding
to haue made
an escape.

Maximilian of Austria sonne in law to the Emperour, & chosen in his absence K. of Bohemia came at this time fro out of Spaine to *Ausbourg*, called thither by *Ferdinand* his father, for the different which he had with his brother the Emperour, as touching the succession of the empire. For the deciding whereof the Emperour had caused his sister *Mary* to returne thither, who was parted from him in the month of September: for knowing how materiall the annexing of Germany was vnto himselfe, he desired ther to ensure & establish the seate of his sonne, who ought to rule ouer so sundry, and seperate prouinces. *Ferdinand* who tended to the same end, was as well resolved, not to frustrate the attempt or profite thereof, were it either for himselfe, or his children. Now *Maximilian* was of so milde a nature, & vnderstoode so many tongues, & singularie the Germaine, ended besides with such a curtesie in his manner of life, that he was not onely agreeable vnto all the people, but his vertues procured vnto him such good hap, and aduancement, as I shall in place hereafter declare vnto you.

Difference a-
bout successi-
on in the em-
pire.

For the better assistance of this councell whether the Emperour had giuen assurance Councell. to the Protestants to come in safetie, they chose these diuines, *Mel. wilton* for Sax, *Bucer* for Witemberg, vnited in opinion, & approved by the of *Strasbourg*: and after agreed vpon such pointas as were to be ther proposed, for all this *Maurice* to gaine time, spie his opportunity, and inforce the Emperour to deliuer & set at liberty his father in law, traying the siege of *Magdebourg* in length, wrote backe vnto him, that for his part he stood very well contented, with that faith which he had giuen vnto him, & could require very litle more. But for so much as he was informed, that there stood in force a decree made by the councell of *Constance*, by which it was ordained that informatiō should be made against al heretiques or any suspected of heresie, if perchance any sommoned to a councell should appeare ther, & that sentence should be ther pronounced against the, albeit that the Emperour should giue the his faith & safe conduct, he desired a sufficient assurance, for faith he this decree remaineth ingrosed, & they

Maurice de-
maundereth
a more safe-
conduct.

Maurice and
Brandebourge
Embassadors
speech.

Hereupon the children of the Landgraue wrote againe to the Emperour for the deliuerie of their father, whereof they would faine see an end. Who in the beginning of Nouember 1551. was gon as farre as Enipont, as well at the request of the Prelats to fauour the holding of the Councell, as the better to prouide for the war of Perma betweene him and the King of Fraunce, to which he seemed so wedded as perswading himselfe that the King would not vnder take any other matter, he scarce beleecued the preparatiues of warre which were said to bee made in Germanie. Then the Embassadors of these two Princes, being come in the beginning of December, after hauing most humblye saluted the Emperour in the name of their masters, spoake in this sorte. *You know most mercifull Emperour, in what paine remaine at this day the most excellent Princes Electors Maurice and Brandebourge for the detaining in hold of the Landgraue, a matter happening vnto them beyond all expectation, such time, as thorough a singular affection which they carried vnto you, by reason whereof they were desirous to prepare vnto you the way to an easie and notable victorie, they sought nought else then to ease you of a great charge by a long warre, and restore the Countrie to peace and tranquillitie. For which respect they haue so often bene suiters vnto you, as wel in their proper person, as by their Embassadors, that it might please you to regard them, and release the prisoner: your answer to their last Ambassador was, that you could not doe it untill you saw the issue of the day prefixed to bee held, besides that you made no other promise, but that he should not alwaies remaine captiue if he kept the accord: But for so much as they being busied about other affaires, haue not bene able at the same day to bee in person themselves, they againe solicited you at Ausbourg by their Councillors and reiterated letters. In answer whereof you wrote backe vnto them the reasons of your conceiued displeasure against him, pronouncing the Princes absolved of their obligation towards the children of the Captiue. Wherefore they determynd to importune you in the like againe. And had come themselves in person, had it not bene for what you know, they were both of them employed in the warre of Magdebourg, besides that Brandebourge himselfe was sicke, which was the cause that they haue giuen vs in charge, to declare vnto you for the first point. That when you did ordaine that the Landgraue should yeeld himselfe vnto you vpon condition, they vnderstoode your intention by the B. of Arras, which was, that he should receiue, and keepe such conditions, as you had proposed and imparted vnto them. If it stood a matter needfull to perswade him to yeelde him selfe in such sort, it was as needfull to declare vnto him that he should not bee kept as a Captiue, nor worse dealt with then the treatie of peace contained. The Princes then were his pledges, which your Councillors also well enough vnderstoode. And where as the Landgraue still insisted, that they should declare vnto him some Articles of th' accord, and required that for the dispatch thereof he might not be staid above sixe daies, it was graunted vnto him, after that the matter had bene proposed to the B. of Arras. As touching the rest of the points the Princes obtained therein more then they demanded. And admit that in this proceeding matters should not be a like vnderstoode of the one side, and the other, & that the Landgraue being come was imprisoned against the faith promised, yet had the Princes neuer accused you for the same, had they not the same time, hauing bene graciously promised by your selfe, gon themselves in person to Halle, & fet him thence, at such time as the Landgraue approaching sent vnto them to come vnto him to Numbourge. For at that time they spoake with you, signifying vnto you that they had perswaded him to stand to the conditions proposed, and that he was not far off, yet that if it pleased you they would goe and meete him: In the meane time praying you that since hee yeelded himselfe vpon their faith and assurance, he might be charged no farther, to which you consented. Now in the last dispatch, there was no mention at all made either of prison or detention, as your owne people the Bishoppe of Arras and of Selde can verie well witness. For the first had all the charge in this matter, and sometimes called the other to assist him: for after that the conditions*

conditions were accepted of, and pardon demanded, the Princes stood fully assured, that he should be incontinently released; which they had reason to imagine for sundry causes. First for that the Councillors neuer made once mention of retaining him, which was a principall point in the treatie which the Landgraue perceiued, and considered of aboute all. Moreouer, sundry things are contained therein, which is not possible for any Prince captiue to accomplish, but for him onely which is at libertie. After that he had besought you pardon, you remitted his fault, and were contented to reuoke his banishment, and giue him letters of reconciliation, besides that you receaued pledge and assurance, wherewith it was set downe, that if he did not performe the accord, the people should deliuer him vp vnto you, and the pledges should by force of armes constrain him to do his dutie. All these things certes, had serued to nothing, and had bene meere superfluous, if they had thought he should haue endured corporall punishment: but they imagining nothing lesse, considering especially that the Councillors neuer made mention thereof, brought him vpon this assurance, promising to deliuer him backe againe before his children, and to endure like punishment that he should doe, if any outrage were offered him. Such was their intention, which was since more confirmed, when after great request the Duke of Alua invited them to Supper at his house with the Landgraue. It was not possible for them to conser in so ill a sence, this summons and hospitalitie (considering the custome and fashion of the Princes of Germany) that he should goe into the D. of Alua his house, as into a prison: and that they should goe with him side by side, and beare him company thither, which had they neuer so little made doubt of, who can imagine what they would haue done? for considering how they are Princes of Germany, and also Electors, issued from right honourable families, neuer would they haue bene a meanes that a Prince of an excellent house, both their allie and freend, should haue bene brought to such a banquet to fall into so great troubles, and that they should leade him as captiue, and they were no whit at all made priue to the fact, untill after supper when the D. of Alua tolde him, that hee must remaine in the Castle as in prison: howsoeuer the matter was, they went to worke with a good meaning, as we sayde in the beginning; and for so much as they haue plighted their faith, you may well perceiue how hard and greuous a matter it will be both to them and their children, if after hauing bene often put in minde of their promises, and after caution giuen, the Landgraue be detayned prisoner: you perceiue likewise (most puissant Emperour) you, who deriue your race from the Germanes, (considering that the Children of the Captiue Prince pursue their right, & presse the redeliuer him vnto them, according to the condition of the bond) what becommeth them to doe according to the ancient custome of the Nobilitie of Germany, for to preserve their honour and good reputation, and how they should be inexcusable towards all the rest of the Princes, when the power of citing should be taken from them, or the instrument of the bond, in such forme as remaineth in their handes, that if perchance the Landgraue who neither is prisoner by faith giuen, nor by composition, but by occasion before specified, through the griefe and impatience of his so long restraint, haue sought some meanes to escape, and that his men haue attempted ought against the Guardes, the Princes beseech that it may turne no waies to their damage: but for that by reason of the obligation they are in so extreme distres, out of which you alone after the immortal God, are able to deliuer them, and that you are most certaine how they stand enwrapped in these inconueniences; besides that you stand fully assured of their good affection, loyalty, and seruice, for that in your aduersities they neither haue spared their goods, nor blood for your profit, according to the example of their ancestors, they beseech you as much as is possible, that you will succour them in deliuering of the prisoner, and that therein you weigh not so much the fact of the Landgraue, as their persons who holde you in singular reuerence, considering chiefly that many of their families haue neither spared goods or liues for your ancestors, and for the house of Austria and of Burgundie: and if perchance you feare that when he shall be at libertie, he will breake the accorde, you doe very well when the matter shall proceede so farre, but the Nobilitie

and people of Hesse shall promise the contrary vnto you by oath, and as the Princes haue made themselves pledges, so if you desire any further assurance they haue often offered it, and do at this present, hauing giuen power vnto vs to doe as much with you: as touching such conditions as they haue bene able to accomplish, they doe not thinke that ought is lesse remaining; and when you shall know the cause for which their sortes haue not bene so soone raised, they make no doubt but that you will easily excuse and purge the children of the captiue: if there rest any other thing they will in euery respect employ themselves to content you. Therefore if they, their Fathers or Grandfathers, haue euer done seruice to your selfe, to the Emperour Maximilian, or any your ancestors, or if you thinke that in time to come they may pleasure you in any occasion, they beseech you affectionately that you suffer them to taste some fruite thereof, and that you will cause them to see some effect of the hope and promise, which you gaue them first at Halle, secondly at Numbourg, and thirdly at Ainsbourg: to the end in time to come they may haue the greater courage to honour you, being able to glory in that the fidelity and seruice which they haue done vnto you, hath bene by you acknowledged according to their deserte, if they be refused, you may well thinke (excellent Emperour) what inconueniences will ensue, when they shall be enforced to appeare and approue their innocency: but they hope well that you will regard their praiers, which they and approue their innocency: but they hope well that you will regard their praiers, which they and will receiue for a singular benefite; and as well they, as the Landgraue with his children and alliance, shall for euer endure all paine to acknowledge it. And forsomuch as this matter toucheth so neerely their honour, they haue solicited the rest of the Princes to entreate with them, whose Embassadours you see here present, to the end that what themselves haue not bene able to obtaine at your hands vntill this present, either by praiers, messages, or letters, these here may obtaine by their credit and fauour, beseeching you to take it in this parte.

After that they had thus spoken, they presented vnto him the letters of Ferdinand K. of Romanes, of Albert D. of Bauieres, of the Bretheren of Lunebourg written in the chaffe of the Landgraue: those Princes which made request by their Embassadours, were the Elector Frederic Palatine, Wolfgang de deux pontz, John Marquesse of Brandebourg, Henry, and John, Albert D. of Megelbourg, Ernest Marquesse of Bade, and Christophre D. of Witemberg, whose Deputies after hauing shewed their commission spake in this manner.

The Princes
Embassadours.

The Electors Maurice and Brandebourg finding themselves greatly troubled for the imprisonment of the Landgraue, and being minded to make request vnto you for him (most mercifull Emperour) haue required our Princes to ioyne with them in this their request, to the end it might be of greater weight and efficacie on their behalfe, which they could not deny vnto them, in regarde of that dutie of alliance, frendship, and coninnction which is betweene them. Considering then that the matter standeth on such termes, as the Embassadours haue at length fully declared, and that if the captiue be restrained any long time, it may turne to the damage and blame of those which haue pauned their faith, the Princes which haue sent vs hither doe beseech you, and carelessly warne you to weigh all these things, for they holde themselves greatly interested if the honour, dignitie, and renoune of them be not countergerded: a matter likely to ensue, if the Landgraue be not released. They require then most humbly that these their requests may somewhat preuaile with you, especially considering that hee hath already acknowledged his fault, and besought pardon on both his knees: that it is now a long time he hath lien by it, and aboue all, in regarde that the extreame necessitie of the two Electors demandeth it, who are fallen into this inconuenience, for their proceeding herein in good faith, and their willingness to doe you seruice, that if peradventure there may haue bene some fault committed, or that some matters haue not bene so well vnderstoode, yet it is a matter honest and proper to your mercy, to prefer equitie before the rigour of law, and not so much to regarde him which is captiue, as the inuitable necessitie of the Electors, and to deale gently and liberally with them, according

according to the example of your ancestors, who haue alwaies bene carefull to preserve the honour of the Princes of the Empire: that will turne to your great honour towards all men, and them especially. And it will breed courage in them, to remaine vnto you singularly, faithfull frends, and affectionate seruants, and to employ themselves in all things for the loue of you. The King of Denmarke in like sorte had sent his owne Embassadour, who made the like request.

The Emperour made answer certaine daies after, that the matter was of importance, and required ripe deliberation, and for so much as he was aduertised that Maurice purposed to make his repaire very shortly vnto him for other matters of consequence, in sorte as hauing written vnto him he attended him daily, hee would defer it vntill his comming, hoping that the matter might then be entreated of most commodiously in his presence, for their partes they might returne again to their Princes, and tell them as from him, that he would well carry in remembrance their demandes, and so guide himselfe in this action, that they should well vnderstand that their recommendation caried great weight towards him.

Thus Maurice not able to picke any certainty out of all this, and causing himselfe in the presence of many to be importuned by the Landgraues children, who threatned to put both him and Brandebourg in sute for breach of promise, had no sooner refoled with the Embassadour of Fraunce, (whose charge euery man was almost ignorant of) of what succour he was to draw thence, then he determined to make open warre against the Emperour, but for all that, the better to couer the fainednes of his intents, he sent his deputies to Trent, to demaund such another safeconduct as the Bohemians had at Constance, that the Pope should submit himselfe vnto the Councell, and acquite the B. of their oathes, that all Nations might haue free access thither, and that whatsoeuer had bene decreede before the comming of the diuines should be cancelled. Strasbourg and the D. of Witemberg his Embassadours saide as much. This comming of the Embassadours, and the promise which he made shortly after to be with the Emperour, tooke away all suspicion of warre, for the very Emperour wrote to the Archbishops of Mayence, Treues, and Cologne, to leaue Trent, and to goe home and defend their Countries from such souldiers as had bene retayned after the siege of Magdebourg: and as the Emperour had in like sort prayed them to do, they receiued very curteously: Maurice his deputies giuing vnto the safeconduct, saying that they had summoned thither all Nations, that all were free there, but that reason and their dutie would by no meanes permit them to disannull or cancell ought, and much lesse to submit the Pope to the councell. The Embassadours after hauing examined their safeconduct, found it different from that of the Bohemians, and after that they had hastily read it ouer, they found the principal articles changed, and the rest cleane omitted: for in the safeconduct which was giuen out to the Bohemians, there was among other things, that they should haue power to decide, that in all differents they should take for iudge the holy scripture, the practise of the ancient Church, such counsels and interpreters as agreed with the holy Scripture, that it should be lawfull for them to say diuine seruice in their houses, in a tongue which they vnderstoode, that nothing should be proffered in contempt and blame of their doctrine, the first, third, and last of these points were cleane omitted, the second which is the principall, was altogether altered: this being considered of according to the forme of the decree of Basle, they prescribed another safeconduct, and answered that it was not lawfull for them to exceed their commission, which carried that they were not to take any safeconduct, but according to the contents of that at Basle. The Protestant

Maurice demands at
the councell.

Diuerſities of
opinions in
the Councell
of Trent,

teſtant deputies for the cauſes before ſaide would departe, and alſo for that they were not able to endure the iniurious preachings of certaine Monkes againſt them & their religion, of which likewiſe they had not free exerciſe in their owne houſes: beſides the brute of the warre which haſtened then as well as the reſt of the Germanes and Italians, who on the other ſide ſuſpected that the Prelates of Spaine, Scicilie, Naples, and other Imperialls, which demaunded the continuance of the Councell, would require a reformation in the Popes authoritie, (whoſe Court they eſteemed alreadye ſtretched to farre) and in the diſcipline and manners of the Church, that the ſuperſtitie, ambition, and example of their euill life, might be taken away, that euery man ſhould take charge ouer his Church, and holde but one benefice, to which ſundrye Germane catholickes put to their helping handes, albeit otherwiſe they did not acknowledge any error in the doctrine, and yet were of opinion that Councells might erre. In ſumme both they and the Italians (who they ſay neuer greatly loued to heare of Councells) fearing that they would enter into this conſideration, truſſed vp their baggage and baggage, as ſoon as they had newes of the taking of Ausbourg, which *Maurice* and his company took the fourth day of Aprill, three daies after the ſiege, from the Emperours Garrifon. And albeit that the day of the Seſſion was ordained to be the firſt of May, yet altogether in diſpaire, the Fathers which remained, aſſembled together the 20. of Aprill, and proroged the councell for two yeares, by reaſon of the diſcorde happened betweene the Kings and Princes, and for longer to, if in the mean time they could not be reconciled. But the Legate *Crefcence* Preſident of the Councell, remained in his bed, frighted with a ſpirit which hee ſawe by night, whereupon ſhortly after he fell ſicke, imagining that he could neuer eſcape it, any comforte that his freendes or familiars could yeelde vnto him: ſo he died at Veronne. The Pope in the mean time had accorded with the K. of Fraunce, who prepared himſelfe againſt the Emperour, as I will tell you.

The Councell
of Trent de-
ferred for 2.
yeares.
Crefcence
Cardinal, Le-
gat and preſi-
dent for the
Pope, died of
an apprehen-
ſion,

You haue ſcene the ſiege of Magdebourg, and what *Maurice* did for the deliuerie of the *Landgrau*, who perceiuing the Emperour, ſed him with nothing but hopes, practiſed as many Princes, Captaines, and other, as he was able in Germany, to maintaine the libertie of Religion, and the common wealth. After that hee made an alliance with the K. of Fraunce, and gaue hoſtages on the one ſide and the other: and theſe they cauſed the occaſions of the warre to be imprinted and ſpred abroad, to draw the more vnto them. In the mean ſeaſon the Emperour cauſed the Drum to be ſtrooke vp at the foot of the Mountains, and aſſembled his men of war at the towne of Rutte, as the moſt commodious Rende-uous for all his troupes.

Vpon the 21. of September 1551. Queene *Catherine* of Medices was brought a bed at Fontaine-bleau, of a Sonne, named *Edward Alexander* D. of Angouleme, by the deputie of *Edward* K. of England, and of *Antoine* of Bourbon, D. of Vendome, with the Ducheffe of Mantua, who ſince notwithstanding left thoſe names, to take that of his Fathers, ſo as he ſhalbe euer hereafter named *Henry* the third, K. of Fraunce and of Pologne.

The birth of
H. 3. K. of
France and
Pologne.

The Baronic
of Montmo-
rency erected
into a Duchie,
with right of
a Peere,

Much about the ſame time, the K. curious to acknowledge from wel to better, the good and agreeable ſeruices done vnto him by *Ane de Montmorency* his Conſtable, erected his Barronic of Montmorency into a Duchie, together with the right and prerogatiue of a Peere.

If the French liued in peace, the Germanes ſmallye caring for their reſt, prepared themſelues not onely to a ciuill and dangerous warre, but alſo deſired to bring in among them, the Prince of the Flower de Lys, for a counterpeaſe to the Emperour

Charles,

Charles, whom they fought to enforce, for the deliuerie of the *Saxon* and *Landgrau*, which he helde priſoners, as alſo to reſtore Germany to her former eſtate. To this end they had already made him to vnderſtand, together with their complaintes, what meanes they had to conſtraine him thereunto, if he would but releue them with his ſuccor. To which the K. of Fraunce being counſelled to liſten & yeeld all fauour, for naturall and ancient deſire to abate the greatnes of ſuch an enemye, before that hee would put his forces into the field, (to which hee gaue the Rende-uous at Vitry in Patois, hauing already ſent the *Gouernours* into their Prouinces, to leuie the beſt trained, and moſt voluntary Souldiers that they coulde) hee cauſed to be publiſhed throughout his owne Realme, Italye, high and lowe Germany, and other quarters, the declaration of his will and true purpoſe touching thoſe ſuccours, which hee was minded to yeelde vnto them. The letter which he cauſed to be made, to this effect at Fontaine-bleau, the 3. of February 1552. which *Du Freſne* broght with him into Germany for the ſame end, were of this tenor. That the greatnes of an eſtate Royall, ſeeking his increaſe from the enterpriſes which redounded to the profit of many, and aboue all to the freendes of a Crowne, he in like ſorte was euer ſtudied from his infancy in this holy exerciſe, and in a deſire to ſhew himſelfe gracious, and ſuccourable to the whole worlde, and that therefore comming to be King, he had likewiſe vnder- taken the protection of the Queene and Realme of Scotland, renewed the ancient alliance with the *Suizers*, and in the end concluded peace with his Brother the King of England, that the Emperour had leſt no craft or wilines, whereby he might breake this peace, to the end that Fraunce might be enwrapped with warre and diſcordes, albeit that hitherto himſelfe was neuer willing to haue begun the broile, or to arme againſt him, ſtanding onely to his own defence. But hauing heard the particular complaintes and griefes of ſundry Princes, Lords, and States of Germany, as touching the tyrannie and violence which the Emperour vſed ouer them, vnder colour of reuniting thoſe whome the diuerſitie of religion had ſeparated and diſioyned, of reforming of abuſes, and ouerrunning the Turke, a common enemye to Chriſtendome. And ſeeing that herein he went about nothing elſe the to encroche vpon the Monarchie, and make it ſucceſſiue to the houſe of Auſtria: for theſe conſiderations the K. remembering that he was deſcended from the bloud of the ancient *Franks* or *Francs*, iſſued out of Germany, and the perpetuall alliance and amitie, which in all time had bene betweene the Gallique nation and the Germane, the which the Emperour and his Grandfather euer went about to breake, he could doe no leſſe then haue reſpect thereunto, and prouide for ſuch miſchiefes as are offered themſelues on that part, as the Emperour ſhould execute his plats and enterpriſes. His moſt chriſtian Maieſtie, fearing leaſt the alteration of the Germane libertie might proue the ruine of that Nation, and by conſequence a great ſhaking to the glorye and power of the Gaules, which haue Germany for their rampire, hath conſidered it to be a matter almoſt neceſſarie for all Chriſtendomes preſeruatiue, that they ſhould ioine their forces together, to ſtand what ſoeuer he were, any one that ſhould preſume to encroche vpon their liberties: it imported further, that his Maieſtie had ſene ſo great diſorder among the Princes and States of the empire, that he was not able to iudge whether all, or part of them, had praied him to ſhewe himſelfe a proteſtour and defender of this Germane liberty almoſt ſlaken in peeces: that at this time many Princes as well Electors as other, had beſought him to aſſiſt them, and be their helpe in this ſo vrgent a neceſſitie. And in caſe that he would not doe it, he proteſted before God and men, the miſchiefe that was likely to befall them, and of which his Maieſtie onely ſhould

be the

The K. letter
to the Elec-
tors,

be the cause, greatly injuring his own reputation, and doing wrong to that which he oweth to the ancient league betweene Gaule and Germany. Besides that he shewed to those Princes, Electors, and others, and to the free Citties, that since that *Charles* and his brother had taken vpon them to commaund the Empire, every thing fell into confusion and disorder. And that that was true, a man might see with his eye, how he had fleeced the Empire, the Citties, comminalties, and other places, as *Guelldres*, *Vtrech*, *Cambray*, and *Constance*, which he had made become proper to the House of *Austria*: and that by a thousand deuices he went about to encroche vpon the Archbishop of *Treues*, and the Dukes of *Cleues* and *Witemberg*, and cleane to ruine the principalltie of *Hels*. The King further complained how that *Charles* and *Ferdinand* had cleane excluded the Embassadours of Fraunce, from the Dietts and generall assemblies of Germany, where in times past they had their place: and that contrary to the liberties of Germany, he would bridle the liberty of the Souldiers, and keep them from seruing any in the warres but himselfe: and that it was not lawfull for them to come vnder his pay, without incurring of condemnation, as breakers of his Edicts, and attainted of treason: he blamed the Emperour of *Fellonye* and crueltye, in causing many braue warriors to be cruelly put to death, because they had receiued pay of the K. of Fraunce, he made instance of the Colonell *Regerberg*, whome the Emperour caused to be beheaded in his own presence, of the banishmentes and confiscations decreede against Captaine *Recrod*, the *Ryngrau*, *Riffberg*, and *Schertelin*, against whom he shewed himselfe so obstinately and cruelly carried, that hee caused to be proclaymed by sound of Trumpet, 4000. Crownes to whosoeuer could bring aliue or dead any of these Lords, to make a good pastime with the effusion of Germane bloud, for the Spanish bandes. This discourse and other matters finished, he concluded that he had made an alliance with sundrye of the Princes of Germany, and that together with them hee was resolved to imploye both his forces and his person, for defence of the libertie of whole Germany: without expecting any other recompence, then the honour, in hauing doone his dutye, and tyed vnto him so puissant a nation as the Germane, of which this his desire and pretence, hee gaue assurance vpon his oath, taking God to witnesse, and swearing that in the woordes of a King, and faith of a Prince: and that in generall hauing no other intention, then to deliuer all the estates of Germany from the oppression of the Emperour, and of his in particular; hee pretended to doe it in fauour of his most deare and most beloued Cosins, *John* Duke of *Saxe*, and *Philip* Landgrau of *Hels*, detained in miserable seruitude by *Charles*, whosoeuer hee had promised or sworne to the contrarye, thereby to get immortal praise as somtimes did *Flaminius*, for hauing affranchised *Greece*. And towards the latter end of the letter were these wordes: We promise you in like sorte by the almightie God, before all the Kings, Princes, and Potentates of Christendome, that we will not in any sorte suffer, that either to you in generall, or to any one in particular, of what estate or condition soeuer he be, to our knowledge any wrong or iniurie shalbe offered. And lesse will we endure, who carry the title of most Christian, that any damage shalbe done to the goods and persons of you, most reuerende Prelates, Abbots, and other of the Clergy, as it hath bene wrongfullye giuen out by our aduersaries: rather we determine to receaue you into our protection and safeguarde, provided that you declare your selues for vs and our allies: and giue vs sufficient assurance of your intents, hoping for the reunion of the Church, which we attende by the recouering of the publique libertie: to which we will imploy (God willing) all our power; the which we were willing to let you to vnderstand, most reuerend Prelates,

lates, and most excellent Princes, and other the estates of the holy Empire, to the end you should not be ignorant of the true occasion of this warre: by which we pretend to pursue the Emperour with fire and sword, and (albeit very loath) to cut him off as a rotten member from the body of the common wealth, or at the least to enforce him to cease offering you any more iniurie. As touching ought which more particularly may touch vs, or the affaires of the holy Empire, you shall know it by our beloued and feal counsellor and Embassadour *John du Fresne* B. of *Bayonne*, whome to this end we haue dispatched, praying you to giue credence vnto him, in whatsoever he shall deliuer on our parte, and that by him you will aduertise vs of your intention. Yeouen at *Fontaine-bleau* the 3. of February 1552. and in the 5. yeare of our raigne. By this so autenticall a promise & solemn league, the K. made him selfe defender of the Germanes, and was called Father of the countrye, and protector of the Germane nation & holy Empire: and was so proclaimed throughtout al the imperiall cities, with inscription & triumphant arks & shewes, recommending this his curtesie, that of gallantnes of minde, he would at so great charge oppose himselfe, to so happy & puissant a Monarch. On the top of this writing printed in the vulgare tongue, there was a hat betweene two daggers, and written about liberty: vnderneath was the K. represented, who called himselfe Protector of Germany, and of the Princes in Captiuitie.

Wheras he said that the Emperour had ordained a price to such as could kil certain of his Colonels, it was thus. *Charles* 5. reuiuing his Edicts, had againe banished out of the empire the Colonels *Ringraue*, *Recrod*, *Ritteberg*, and *Schertelin*, all in the Kings wages, so far as to promise 4000. crownes, to whosoeuer would bring any of them vnto him aliue or dead: for they pushed hard at the wheele, and after the league was concluded whereof we haue spoken, carried souldiers into Fraunce.

In the meane season *Maurice* hauing left his Brother *Augustus* behinde him as his Lieutenant in his Countie, marched into the fildes, and with the *Landgraues* sonne, who tooke with him *Du Fresne* the K. Embassadour, ioyned together the forces of the associates at *Tonouert*. Afterwards *Albert* of *Brandebourg* came vnto them with a great number of foot & horse, at *Koburg*, they brought all as they passed alongst vnder their subiection, and infringing whatsoeuer had bene ordained by the Emperour, they established there new officers, and a new kinde of gouernement, constraining al to furnish them with mony, albeit the Emperour, and especially his brother *Ferdinand* besought the of peace, for which they promised their best endeour, notwithstanding that the Emperour caused the drum to be stroke vp at the foot of the mountains, for the assembling of his army: an occasion that *Maurice* wet to *Lincy* in *Austria*, to know of *Ferdinand* the conditions of peace, for he was willing to pacifie matters at the wil of the Emperour, who on the other side had exhorted by his letters the principall Princes of Germany that they would bestow some paines in quenching this vprore, & aduise of some means of peace, to which his best endeour shuld not be wanting: and wheras some demanded succor of him, not seeing the selues strong enough against so great a force, he assured them of a good hope, answering that now they were in teames of making peace, which as he hoped shuld take good effect: if otherwise, he would succour the with his means & the whole comon wealth of Germany: Vnto was besieged 6. daies, & the 19. of April the Princes went to *Stoach*, a town of *Hegouia* where in the name of the K. of France 3. months pay was giuen the, according to the accord, and there was giuen for hostage on the French part, *James* of the house of *Marche*, for the other (to wit the Earle of *Nantueil*) died on the way. The hostages which the Princes gaue vnto the King, were *Christophle* Duke of *Megelbourg*, and *Philip* sonne

Hostages of
Fraunce and
Germany.

to the *Landgraue*. The last of April the Princes returned to the Danube, some leagues belowe Vlme. In the meane space *Albert* of Brandebourg set fire on all the Townes and villages of Vlme, and got as much monie as hee was able, afterwardees hee took the forte of Helfsten, situated vpon an high mountaine, and there put garrison: that done, he rated the towne of Gilling, which is three leagues from Vlme, with certain other villages about, at 18. thousand crownes. In the meane while *Maurice* arrived at Lincy, propofed certaine articles touching the deliuey of his father in law, for the appeasing of the difference in religion and doctrine, of well and dulye establishing the common wealth, of making peace with the K. of Fraunce their companion and alye, of receiuing into grace the banished men, as the *Ringraue* & the other abouenamed, among which was likewise *Hede*, who some yeares before had placed himselfe in the seruice of *Maurice*: but the Emperour had not set downe any certaine price to him that could take him, were it for feare of offending *Maurice*, or any other occasion. Vpon that *Ferdinande* (who had with him his sonne *Maximilian*, his sonne in law *Albert* of Bauieres, and the Emperours Embassadors) made answer to his demaundes, that the Emperour made no refusal to deliuer the *Landgraue*, provided that they laid aside their armes, for regarde of religion and the common wealth, it pleased him well that they should aduise therof in the first assembly, but it was a matter too noisome to the Emperour to comprehend therein the K. of Fraunce, and yet that *Maurice* might doe well to know of the K. vnder what conditions he would appoint it: as for the banished persons, they might reenter into grace, so as they obserued such conditions as the Emperour would set downe. Further *Ferdinande* demaunded of *Maurice* aide against the Turke in Hungarie, after that the peace should be concluded, and that he would not suffer any souldiers to retire towards the K. of Fraunce. To which *Maurice* answered that it was not lawfull for him to conclude of any thing, without the consent of his companions, so as they departed vpon condition that the 26. of May they should meet againe at Passau, which is betweene Ratisbone and Lincy, at the reencounter of Danube and Eno, whether the Princes who had the handling of the matter, should re- pare, if not, their deputies furnished with ample power: where we will leaue the preparing of peace, and the French of warre, for the maintenance of the Germane libertie, as I will shew you by and by, to the end to run as far as into Prouence, where notable accidents present themselves, worthy of the posterity.

I will not passe any further without informing you of a most notable occurrence which happened in this time among the Prouencials, I haue before told you of the Albigeoise religion, and how by force the Albigeoise quitting of Fraunce, went to inhabit in diuers cuntries of christendom, especially among the mountains of Sauoy, Piemont & Prouence, where continuing the exercise of their religion, they were named Vaudois. Now for that in all times they neuer acknowledged the supremacye of the Pope, from whose doctrine theirs differed in many points, chieflye after the coming of *Martin Luther*, and publishing of his writings, which they courageously embraced, as neerer approaching to their ancient doctrine, they were oftentimes accused and pursued, as Heretickes and Rebels to the Magistrats, so as with the zeale of the Cleargie, encreasing the persecution vpon all Lutheranes, in the yeare 1540. at the instance of the Kings Proctor in the Parliament of Aix in Prouence, the inhabitants of Merindol, were adiourned in the person of certaine named in the arrest (which wee will recite) to appeare personally, according to which adiournement, the within named came to Aix to present themselves to the Court. At the daye assigned vnto them, they addressed themselves to the skilfullest Advocates, to aske

their aduise how they were to guide and gouerne themselves in this affaire. The Advocates and Proctors tolde them, that it was not lawfull for them to giue counsel vnto any that were suspected of the Lutherane sect. Notwithstanding one secretly and aparte aduertised them, that they were not to present themselves to the saide Court, except they were ready, and prepared to endure to be burned, yea at little fire, without any forme or figure of triall: for that had already beene concluded of among them. With these speeches the Merindoliens were greatly astonied, and more afterwards when indeed they saw sundry of their sect to be cruelly murdered, hauing no other cause alleadged for their condemnation, but that they had spoken and maintained such matters, as had bene declared Lutherane, by the censures & determinations of the Doctors in Diuinitye, which they of Merindol perceiuing, retired themselves without euer appearing at the assignation, so as defaulte was pronounced against them, by vertue whereof the Court ordained an Arrest, which euer after was called the Arrest of Merindol, the tenor whereof was in this wise. At the demaund the profit and vility of defaultes obtained by the Kings Proctor Generall, demaunder in case of crime of diuine and humane treason, against *Andrew Menard*, and adiourned to three peremptory dayes, not appearing, but making defaulte, the charges and informations considered, made at the request of the K. Proctor generall, the ordinances of arrest of bodies, and for defaulte thereof the adiournementes of peremptory dayes, being decerned against the said accused, and making defaulte the 30. of Iuly 1540. the said adiournementes of 3. peremptory daies being passed, the defaults obtained by the saide Proctor generall against the said accused, the K. letters patents of the last of May in the said yeare 1540. addressed to the said Court, to proceed against the Vaudois and Lutheranes, and other holding contrary sects, and derogating from the Christian faith and religion: and also other letters pattents of the said Lord, of the 16. of Iuly 1535. and of the last of May 1536. by which he graunted pardon and grace, to such as were charged, accused, and suspected of heretick errors, so as they would renounce the said errors, and abiure them within six moneths, after the publication of the said letters, the certificat of the witnesses, hauing bene wel examined in the aboue said informations, other charges, informations, & proces, being brought forth by the said Proctor generall, to make it appeare how most notoriously all they of Merindol hold Vaudoise & Lutherane sects, reprobued, and contrary to the holy faith & christian religion, withdrawing & concealing many strangers & fugitiues charged to be of the same sect, nourishing and fauoring of them, how in the same place ther is a schoole of errors and false doctrines of the said sects, which dogmatise their said errors and false doctrines, & bookbinders, which imprint and sell books full of such false doctrine: and also that they of Merindol vnder the ground, and in rocks, haue made caues wherein they retire & hide themselves, their complices & goods, and make themselves strong: other information being take by the iudge of Apt, to make it more manifest, how after that *Colin Palleng* named of the plane of Apt, as a sectator of the saide sects, was some daies passed condemned & burned, and his goods confiscate to the K. in despite hereof many of the said people of Merindol, their complices & adherents in great assemblies of six or seuen score men armed with harquebuses, halbeards, swords, and other weapons, brake into the Mill of the saide *Colin Palleng* and *Thomas Palleng* brethren, beat and outraged the Miller, and threatned him and as many as should intermeddle with any goods of any their secte. All this considered, it was saide that the Court hath said and declared, doth say and declare, the said defaultes to haue bene wel obtayned, and for the profit of them, that all the abouesaide accused, and adiourned are true

The preposi-
tions of Maurice.

The resolution of
peace deferred,
and wherefore.

The Vaudois of
Prouence how
when, by whom,
and wherefore
persecuted as
Heretiques.

Arrest of the par-
liament of Aix.

They were about
2400 well inhabi-
tants of Merin-
dol, other their
neighbours.

defaulters, and stubborne, barred of all defence, attainted, and conuicted of the cases, and crimes laide vnto them: hauing detained, maintained, and followed hereticall sects and doctrines, reprobued, and contrary to the faith and Christian religion, and to the holy prohibitions of the King: and being the retirers and receiuers, the relecuers and fauourers of men charged, and diffamed to holde like damnable doctrines, & reprobued sectes, for remedy whereof, it hath condemned, & doth condemne the aboue named: and in case that they cannot be taken and apprehended, from henceforward it hath banished them al, and doth banish them out of the Realme, landes & signories of the K. with interdiction and prohibition, nor once to enter therein vpon paine of the gallowes, and declareth all and euery the goods of the abouesaid condemned, and banished, their wiues, children & families, acquitted and confiscate to the saide L. and also prohibiteth all Gentlemen, vassales, and other subiects of the said Lord, that they receaue not, nor conceale any of the said condemned, their wiues, children, seruants, or families, nor giue them any fauour, aide or comferte, in any manner whatsoever, vpon paine to such as shall doe the contrary of confiscation of their goods, and other arbitrary paines. And moreouer considering that all the said place of Merindol, is the notorious retreat, den, refuge, and sorte of people holding such damnable and reprobued sects, the said court hath ordained & doth ordaine, that al the houses builded in the same place shalbe pulled down, razed, and laied euen with the ground, and the said place be leste vnhabitable, so that none shall reedifie or builde there, without the pleasure and permission of the K. likewise that the Castle, and den, ramparts & forts, being in the rockes and woods of the land of the said Merindol shalbe ruined, and laied in such sorte, as none shall be able to make there any more residence, and that the places shalbe vncovered, and the woods where such fortes are cut downe, and grubbed 200. paces about: and further it prohibiteth and forbiddeth, that no parte of the inheritance of the saide place shalbe let to farme, rente, or otherwise, to any of the surname or lyne of the aboue condemned. Published in iudgement at the Parliament of Prouence sitting at Aix the 18. of Nouember 1540.

Afterwards the court ordained to euery iudge ordinary, of Aix, Tournes, S. Maxima and Apt, the execution of what might concerne him in the Arrest, which many found very strage, as a thing done too headily against persons, which neuer were once heard or come to their answer, yea so cruelly against the feminine sexe, and yong infants, and the execution made against all of a whole country, albeit the proceedings, had only bene against certain perticular men therein mentioned. Others holding with the arrest said, that in case of Lutherane sect, iudges were not bound to obserue either common or ordinary law, so as it tended to the rooting out of those, which are suspected to be such. And to set forward the execution, the Archbishop of Arle, the B. of Aix and others, met oftentimes, solliciting the President *La Chassane*, and other, to the same effect: so farre as to assure them to furnishe their charges, and to turne vpon them any the Kings indignation or other mens, who saide he might very well be angry at such a destruction of his subiectes: and that it was rather made to holde in awe the Lutheranes, being so great a number of them in Prouence, then to execute it according to the Tenor: and moreouer that it was not definitiue, and that the lawes and ordinances of the Realme doe not permit the execution before other proceedings, yet they preuailed so far as the cōdescended vnto the, and stroke vp the drum to assemble the people of Prouence which were commaunded to march, which they did: but they were as soon countermanded & discharged by the liuely propositions among other of a very learned gentleman named *D. Alence*, how that this proceeding by way

Particular iudgements vpon the merite of the arrest.

The president La Chassane differeth the execution of the arrest, and his reasons.

Cause of delay of the execution.

by way of acte and force, was against all forme and order of iustice, and without distinction of the culpable, and innocent. Now it was so as this President had put in light and published in print, a booke intituled *Catalogus glorie Mundi*, in which by way of pastime he set downe the proceedings which he saied had sometimes bene helde against the Rats, by the officers of the spirituall Courte of the B. of Authun, as if it were, that through all the Bailliwick of Laussois, there had bene such a quantity and great multitude of Rats, that they destroied and eate the corne of all the Country, whereupon it was thought good that some body should be sent to the offici. al of Authun, to excommunicate these Rats, and that thereupon the Official hauing heard the plaintifs of the Proctor fycall, ordained before that he would proceede to excommunication, that a warning should bee giuen by order of iustice, wherby the Rats should be cited at 3. peremptorye dayes, and for default of apparence then to proceede, &c. The three daies being passed, the Proctor presented himselfe against the Rats, and for fault of apparence obtained default: by vertue whereof he demaunded that they would proceede to excommunication: wherupon it was iudicially concluded, that the Rats should bee provided of an Aduocate to heare their defence, &c. considering it was a question of their totall rooting out and destruction. This Gentleman seruing his turne herewith, saide to the President. Sir, remember the councill which you wrote in a matter of nothing, when as being the K. Aduocate at Authun, you defended the Rats, and declared that the time giuen vnto them to appeare in was to shorte, and moreouer how there was so many Cats in the villages, as the Rats had some reason to absent theselues, &c. with many other rightes & passages alleadged by you, and amply handled in your booke made at pleasure. Now so it is Sir, as by such a pleading of a matter of vaine importance, you haue gotten the brute to haue rightely set downe the manner whereby iudges ought to proceede in criminall matters: now will you not learne right by your owne booke, which wil euen manifestly condemne you, if you proceed any further to the destruction of these pore people of Merindol? is it not as conuenient that they should haue as much law and equity as you wil giue to Rats? Through these perswasions the President was so much moued, that incontinently he reuoked the commission which was giuen, and caused the men of war to retire who was come within one league & a halfe of Merindol, whereof they of Merindol rendred thanks to God, comforting one another, and animating theselues for euer to retain the feare of God, and submit theselues to his prouidence. The brute of this enterprise, and execution of the said arrest together with the patience & constancy of them of Merindol, grew so great, and esteemed of such importance, that it was not hid to K. Francis, who sent letters to *Langeay*, who at that time was his lieutenant in the country of Piemont, to make diligēt enquiry of the truth of the whole matter: whereupon he sent into Prouence two personages, to whom he gaue charge to bring him the coppie of the Arrest, and to enquire of all that which followed, and likewise of the life & manners of them of Merindol, and the rest which were persecuted in the country of Prouence, which they did, and counted vnto him the iniustice, pilferies, & villanies which as wel the ecclesiastical as secular iudges daily vsed against the of Merindol & other. And as touching the life & maners of the said persecuted persons, they made report that the greatest part of the inhabitants of the country of Prouence, affirmed that those which were persecuted were people of great trauaile, & that since 200. yeares they retired out of the country of Piemont, to dwell in Prouence, and had taken to see farre many hamlets destroied by the wars, and other desolate places: besides so great labourers they were, & so good husbands, that in the places where they

Catalogus glorie mundi, made by Chassane, and printed at Lyons.

Guillaume du Bellay, L. of Langeay, lieutenant for the K. in Piemont.

inhabited was great abundance of come, wine, oyle, hony, almonds, and great cattell, so as the whole country about was releued thereby, yea that before they came to inhabite in the said countrie, Merindol was vsed to be let for foure crownes by yeare, and now it amounteth to aboute 350. crownes yearly rent to the Lord: and that it was euen so in Lormarin, and sundry other places of Prouence, which had beene deserts and laide open to theiues, vntill such time as they came thither to inhabite. They found likewise by information made in Prouence, that the Merindols & other of the persecuted, were a peaceable people, beloued of all their neighbours, of faire conditions, keeping their promises, and paying wel their debts, without sute or brabbling, charitable, not suffering any to be in need, of great almes to strangers, and other poore passengers according to their power. The Prouençals affirmed likewise, that they of Merindol, and the rest might very well be discerned from all other of the country of Prouence, for that they could neuer be brought so much as to name the Deuill, or any waies to swear, if it were not in iudgement, or passing of some contract. A man might likewise know them for that if they were in any companye where lasciuious speeche were vsed, or blasphemy against the honor of God, they would incontinently depart out of the same: we know not any other matter against them, sauing (said they of Prouence) that when they go to the market or about the rowne, they are so seldom seene go into the Minster, and if they do chance to goe in, they say their prayers without regarding of either he or she Saint, and that in the high way as they passe by crosses and images, they vse no reuerence. The Priestes being likewise hard as touching the same, said that they did not cause any Masse to be saide, nor *Libera me*, nor *De Profundis*, and that they neuer took any holy-water, and if any were given them at their houses, that they would neuer say grandmercie to him that brought it, and they perceived very well that they conned him small thanks, that they neuer went on pilgrimage to gaine pardons, that they neuer made the signe of the crosse when it thundred, but only looked vp into heauen sighing, and prayed without crossing themselves, or vsing any holy-water, that they were neuer seene make any offering, either for the liuing or for the dead. In summe, *Langeay* following his charge, aduertised K. *Frauncis* of the whole, who hauing fully vnderstoode it, sent letters of grace, not onely for such as were condemned vpon default and cōtumacy, but also for all other within the country of Prouence, who were either accused or suspected for the like case, commanding expressly the parliament, that from thence forward they shuld not in such a case proceed so rigorously as they had done for the past. Beholde the letters.

The K. Letter
in be. alle of
the Vaudois.

FRancis by the grace of God King of Fraunce, Earle of Prouence, Forcalquier, and countries adioyning, to our welbeloued and feal, the people holding our Court of Parliament in the saide Countrie of Prouence, sitting at Aix: beath and lone. As we hauing vnderstood, how some swarued from the right way of faith and Christian Religion, whome they call Vaudois, assemble themselves in certaine places of our saide Countrie of Prouence, where they continue in their errors, through the seducing of some euill spirites, whereto it were necessary to yeeld good and wholesome prouision, to the ende this vnrone may not proceede any further: we make you to know, how we enclining rather to mercye and clemencye, then to the rigour of iustice, and willing to assaye rather by way of curtesie and perswasion, to retire and redresse the saide wadded persons from the way of saluation, then by rigorous punishments to make them fall into despair: considering especially the great multitude of them, which they say are fallen into these fautes and errours, and that we may hope that through the bounty of God our creator, they wil rather reduce themselves to the way of saluation, the to be out of the congregation of God, & saith full christians, and remain continually in the feare of the rigorous iustice as well of God as man.

We

We for these considerations haue giuen & do giue by these presents grace, pardon and remission as much as in vs lyeth, to the said Vaudois. And haue acquited the, & do acquit them of al paines & offences, and of al punishments and condemnation, which might touch them either in person, or goods, by vertue of any iudgement giuen, or to be giuen. Prouided neuertheless, that within three moneths after: moise of these presents duly made vnto them, they returne to God our creator, and make such an abiraration, and solemne recantation, as is requisite for all the errors, and false doctrines, into which they haue heretofore fallen: from whence they shall entirely depart, and promise to liue Catholiquely and faithfully, as it is requisite & necessarie for all good Christians, liuing according to the law of God, and the Church. And to this ende, and for to understand, if they will accept of this our present grace and mercy, we will that they shall come or send vnto us, such a number of persons as shall bee thought fit and ordained by you, in full suertie as well to come, remaine, as returne, without that during the said time any disturbance or hindrance be offered vnto them in their persons, goods, or manner whatsoeuer. And in case they shall not accept hereof, but remaine in their obstinacy, you shall make such punishment thereof, as you shall thinke the case deserueth: and for the better accomplishing hereof, we haue giuen & doe giue full power, authoritie, commission, and commandement by these presents. By which wee will, and commaund all our iustices, officers and subiects, bee they of warre, or otherwise, that to you, your commissioners and deputies, they lend, & giue all aide, sauour and assistance, when & as often as by you and your deputies it shall be required. Tenen at Fontaine-bleau the eight of February. The yere of grace 1540. and of our Raigne 24. Thus signed, by the K. Earle of Prouence, Bayard. These letters went for a time suppressed, but in the end they were signified to certaine prisonners, who were detayned in the prisons of Aix, of whome it was demanded, if they would take the benefit of those letters, which should bee communicated vnto them, euery one paying one crowne of the sum for the Coppie. By this meanes the prisonners were enlarged in paying their expences, and promising to appeare at the Courte, when and as often as they should be demanded.

Afterwards hauing obtained that they might appeare in Parliament by Proctor, they tooke out a Copie of the proceedings against them, which before they had not; at the request of the Kings Councell, which pursued them, they sent a confession of their faith, to Cardinall *Sadolet* Bishoppe of Carpentras, and other, and after to King *Francis* the first, taught vnto them (said they) euer since 1200. yeares after the coming of Christ: as their auncients and auncetors witnesed vnto them. The which his ordinarie reader *Castellanus* read vnto him, containing the Articles of God the father creator of all things: of the sonne aduocate and intercessor for mankind: of the holy Ghost, comforter and teacher of the truth of the Church, which they saide to bee assembled of all the chosen, hauing *Iesus Christ* for head: Of ministers: Of the Magistrate, whome they confessed ordayned of God, to punish malefactors, and defend the good, to whom it sufficeth not onely to carrie honour, but also to pay taxes and Imposts, without acception of state whatsoeuer: & that at the example of Christ who did likewise practise it: Of Baptisme, which they maintained to be a visible, and exterior signe, representing vnto vs the regeneration of the spirite, and mortification of the members: Of the Lordes Supper, which they holde for a thanksgiuing and commemoration of the benefite receiued by Christ: Of marriage, which they saide was not forbidden to any, by how much it was holy, and ordained of God: Of good workes, wherein they ought to employe themselves continually: Of mans traditions, which they ought to shunne: protesting, in some that the rule of their faith, was the olde and new Testament: and that they belieued al, which was contained in the Apostles Creede. In conclusion they besought the King to giue credit to their

Confession of
the Vaudois
faith.

saying, offering themselves to proue it false, if ought else had bene otherwise reported against them, whensoever it shoulde please him to giue them audience. In the meane time the Bishopp of Aix, and of Cauaillon, pursued the execution of the arrest, so as it was ordered by the Court of Parliament of Prouence, that according to the Kings letters patters, master *John Durandy*, a Councillor of the Court with a secretarie, and the Bishop of Cauaillon, with a doctor in Diuinitie, should goe to the place, and perswade the inhabitants of Merindol, and cause them to abiure those errors, which most plainly they should make appeare vnto them, and in case, that contricted by the word of God to haue followed and lyued in errors, and heresies, they would not make recantation, that then of all that had bene doone, Verball proces should be made, to proceede against them as the Court should thinke good. But as the Church-men were in hand with them to make them recant their doctrine, they refused, offering to proue it, by the word and truth thereof, and offering to renounce if they could be proued heretiques thereby. They were questioned with, and answered simply: so as by little the persecution, nor the hatred ceased against them, especially vpon the suddaine death of *Cassane*, the President, of *John De Roma* Monke a seuerer inquisitor, who would fill Bootes with hot scalding greafe, and after make them to pull them on. Of which and such like behaviors, *Francis* the second being aduertised, gaue commaundement by his letters patters to the Parliament, that hee should be arrested, & his proces made. But hauing warning thereof he fled to Auignon, where being ryfled of his owne seruants, and from great wealth become a begger, he was tormented with so horrible griefes, that nothing could yeeld him any rest. So as no man being able to endure the stincke of his vicers, he desired nought, but to dye, which he did. In the ende *John Minier*, of *Oppede*, President, neare to Merindol, and Cabriers, (the inhabitants whereof had at an other time made heade against him, and put him to his heeles) hauing giuen the King to vnderstand, that as many of them being assembled as came to fiftene thousand, they were gon in armes to take Marceilles, and to Cantonise it, besides that all the Countries round about were in great danger of being lost, being all Lutherans, hee obtained letters, to enable him to execute the arrest, by means of the Cardinall of Tournon, and other, so as he prepared himselfe to the execution of the arrest against Cabrieres, Merendol, and twentie two Villages. Whereof they being aduertised, repayed againe to King *Francis*, in the year 1544. to whom they gaue to vnderstand how from the year 1540. his Maiesty hauing perceiued the euident oppression, and nullitie of the saide arrest of contumacie, had caused the execution thereof to be differred, forbidding there should be any more proceeding in such rigour. And how notwithstanding many had oppressed them, and ment to oppresse them more, and more, briefly they presented vnto him the whole proceedings as aboue said. An occasion that he reuoked the execution of the arrest of contumacie, and all such proceedings as had bene before doone, and agreed by the Parliament as well from which, as from his Proctor generall, hee tooke away the Conisance of the cause, vntill he might be informed by one of the masters of requests of his house, and a D. in Diuinitie of the Vniuersitie of Paris, whome hee had deputed to goe to those places, to the end they might well and amply inquire of the life, faith, and conuersation of those of Merindol, and the rest. This reuocation was published in Parliament, and insinuated to the Proctor general in the end of October following. The Parliament at the instigation of *Oppede*, commaunded *Philip Courtin* Husler of the Parliament, to make great suite for the obtaining of the K. letters to execute the arrest, and notwithstanding the interdiction, the Articles and instructions

The proceedings
used in the pro-
ces of them of
Merindol.

ons were made by the said president, with a request signed by the Proctor generall, yea the pursute was made for money, which had bene ordained by the Parliament, for the charges of the suite: Whereupon *Courtin* did so much by his diligence, and subtiltie, that thorough the fauour of the Cardinall of Tournon, he obtained letters in the moneth of Ianuary following, vnder the name of the K. Proctor generall, from the priuie counsell, to put in execution the arrest of contumacy, notwithstanding the reuocation aboue mentioned.

John Minier cheefe President, hauing receiued the letters sent vnto him in Ianuary 1545. which he concealed vntill the 12. of Aprill, assembled the Court, and there recited the K. letters, by which it was commaunded that the arrest should be put in execution, so as certaine of the Parliament were appointed Deputies for the execution. *Minier* promised to aide them, for because in the absence of *Grignan* he was lesse his Lieutenant, in the gouernement of Prouence, he had before at the K. commaundement leuiued troupes of men of warre, to goe against the English, but he serued his turme with them against these. Moreouer he had sent a commaundement to Marceilles, Aix, and Arle, vnder great paines to all such as caried armes, that they should put themselves in readines, and march at their first call: there came likewise succours vnto him out of the Countrey of Auignon, a possession of the Churches. Their first course notwithstanding was not against Merindol, but ouer the Countrey neere to the towne of Pertuis, so as the 15. of April *Minier* accompanied with a number of Gentlemen and Captaines, came to Cadenet, in the time that some of his companie ouerrunne two Villages neer vnto Durance, where practising a thousand pillages and insolences, they put all to the fire and sworde, except a great number of Cattell which they carried away with them, there was no lesse done in other places. They of Merindol seeing all on a fire round about them, presented a supplication to *Minier*, crauing onely liberty to depart in their shirts with their wiues and children into Germany, but hauing for answere that he would send them all to inhabite in hell among the deuils, they abandoned their houses, and fled into the woods, passing that night neere the Village of S. Falaise in great fright. The inhabitants of the Village were already determined to flie: likewise the B. of Cauaillon vice-legate of Auignon, had giuen charge to some Colonell to make a short dispatche of the world, so as the next morning they got somewhat further into the wood, for there was euery where danger throughout: and *Minier* had forbidden vpon paine of death, that no soule should helpe them, but that they should be all alike sacked wheresoever they were found. The like forbidding was made in all places round about, bordering vpon the Popes territorie: besides that the Bishops defraied a great parte of th' army: The poor payants then marched on through a monstrous vile way, carrying their little children vpon their shoulders, in their armes, or in cradles, yea some of their wiues following the great with child. Being arriued at the place appointed, they found many who had saued themselves there, after hauing lost all: but soon enough newes was broght them, how *Minier* had gathered together all his men of warre to come and followe them: This was towards night, an occasio that after a whiles consultation, they took a sodain and an hastie deliberation, and for that they were to passe by hard and rude wayes, they left their wiues, daughters & children, with some other, among which was one of their Ministers: th' other went on to Mufsi, as they had agreede, hoping the enemy would take some pittie of such a multitude, without weapon, and vnable to defend it selfe: Euery man may well gesse what groanes and sighes, what teares, what imbracings they made one with another at the parting, hauing trauailed fore all night, and

The waste ex-
ploire of *Minier*
vpon the execu-
tion of arrests.

in the

in the end gained the toppe of the Mountaine of Lebron, they could discover nothing but a number of villages and farmes all on fire. *Minier* hereupon deuided his troupes into two partes, and for that he had vnderstanding by a spye which way they of Merindol were gone, he went to the village and sent the rest to followe them. Before that these men had entred the Forrest, a certaine *Quidam* of pittie being moued, ranne before, so as being at the brim of the Rocke, and hauing cast two stones where he gessed those people rested, cryed out to them that had reposed themselves, that they should flye to saue their liues, albeit that he no waies perceiued them. At that instant two of those that were gone to Mulsy, gaue them warning that their enemies were comming, and then they made the Minister runne awaye, with the rest which were left to garde the women, shewing to them a high way throughout the Forrest, by which they might escape: hardly were they departed, but that the souldiers were come with faire naked swordes, and great howtes, crying that all should passe by the point and edge of their swordes: notwithstanding they put none to the sword. But after many insolences, they led away the women bare both of victual and mony, hindered of doing worse by a Capten of horse, who by chace passed by, and threatened that they should dy if they did the contrary: but commaunded them with all speed to repaire to *Minier*, so as the enterpryse was cleane broken of: in sorte that hauing left the women, which were aboue 500. they rushed on vpon the butyn, and cartell. *Minier* in the meane time came to Merindol, and finding it cleane voide of inhabitantes, piled and burned it, after an horrible execution done of whatsoeuer was found therein, for hauing met with a yong lad, he made him be tied to an Oliue tree, and slaine with harquebuse shot: from thence he went to the towne of Cabrieres, battred it with Canon, and by meanes of Captaine *Poulin*, perswaded the inhabitants to open vnto him the gates, and yeeld themselves, promising the that they should sustain no iniury: but anon after that the Souldiers became masters, euery one was cut in peeces, without regarde of age, sexe, religion, alliance, neighbourhoode, or any other respect, some fled into the temple, other into caues of the castle, but they were all drawne thence, and ledde through a medowe, where being stripped bare, they passed all by the sharp of the sword, not onely men, but women, and of them some great with childe: afterwards *Minier* made about 40. women to be enclosed into a barne full of hay & straw, where he set it a fire, and as some stroue to quench it with the winde of their gownes, and preuailed nought, other ran to the windowes of the barne, into which they were wont to pitch in the haye, with intent to haue leaped downe: but being driuen back from thence with blowes of Pikes and Clubs, they were all burnt the 21. of April. After that *Minier* sent one parte of the armye against La Coste, they so no sooner were departed, then those were found which were thrust together in the caue of the Castle of Cabrieres, then all cryed out against those that were shut in the caue, and calling back those which were gone to La Coste, they made likewise as strange a shambles, without referuing any one: eight hundred were counted for dead, as well without as within: sundry infantes which were saued were rebaptised, that done *Minier* sent his troupes to La Coste: the Lord whereof had already perswaded the Citizens to carry all their armes into the Castle, and to raze the towne in foure places, promising vpon his credit with *Minier*, that no iniury should be offered vnto them, he was beleued and obeyed: but departed from thence to beseech *Minier*, he was not farre vntill he found the army, which spared not to passe forward: at the first entrie they did nought to the towne, but the next morrow they gaue a more fresh assaulte, vpon a few that defended it, so as hauing set the fanebourges on fire, they tooke it at their

their ease, because that many that were fearefull slunke away, and slipped downe by ropes, abandoning their companies, and the place ordained for their defence. In summe, the towne being taken and piled, with great murder of all such as were met there, they ranne all to a garden neere vnto the Castle, where without any regarde they enforced the wiues, and maides which were retired thither with a great fright: yea hauing shut the in a whole day and a night, they intreated them so inhumanely, as such as were with childe and the yong maides died presently after. In the meane time they of Merindol and their companions, wandering through the woods and rockes, if they were taken, as soone slaine, or sent to the Gallies, sauing those which died of famine. About 25. were hidden neere vnto the towne of Mulsy, within a caue, but being disclosed they were all as well strangled as burned. There was not then any kinde of cruelty that was not practised, some but very few escaped the slaughter, who saued themselves at Geneue, and places bording vpon it. Now for that the K. before continued the persecutions and burning paines against the Lutheranes, In the moneth of May the Protestant Princes of Germany, belought the K. by letters written from Ratisbone, for his subiects who were so researched & pursued for the same faith which they helde. And for that some made their owne peace, redeeming their life, their goods, and estates, by abiuration of their faith, they besought him that that condition might be taken away, declaring how dagerous a thing it was so to wound and make seruite the consciences of men. But the brute of so strange an effusion of blood animated them the more, and offended many, which greatly abated the credit which the King had gotten throughout Germany: no lesse then in Zuizerland where the reformed ceased not as neere neighbors, to be mediators towards the K. that he would take pittie of the escaped: but for a full answer, he sent vnto the word, that for iust cause he had commaunded that execution to be done, and that they had no more to doe with what he did in his owne country, or what punishment of iustice he made ouer his malefactors, then he had to intermeddle with their affairs. See now how the will and nature of men changing with the affaires and reportes: King *Francis* ordained a punishment for the Authors of this tragedie: how his sonne *Henry* carryed himselfe in the execution thereof, and all that which followed, to serue for most remarqueable occurrences, which may possible happen to any estate.

That which moued *Henry 2.* King of Fraunce, to publishe his letters patenttes, in forme of adiournment, against those of the Parlament of Prouence, who had shed the blood of the inhabitants of Cabriere and Merindol, and other neighbours about, was that his Father King *Francis* at the point of death, touched with remorse and greefe, that he could not before he died make a punishment in example of such, as vnder his name & authority, had wrought so strange cruelties against his subiectes of Prouence, charged his son with great obstructions, nor to deser the punishment, how otherwise God who leaueth no such outrages and sackings unpunished, would worke the reuenge, and so much the more (saith he) as this affaire toucheth our honour among all nations, it cannot be better repaired, then in making all them suffer, who in such cruelty abused the dutie of their charge, without sparing great or small, weake or mightie: that by their example all men hereafter might take heede of any the like enterprises. This was the occasion why King *Henry* decreede by his letters patenttes as followeth.

The princes of Germany write to the King of Fraunce in fauour of such of his subiects as were persecuted.

This touch at the poynt of death, leaueth neither King nor subiect unpunished, without any respect: an especiall warning to all princes.

Letters pattents against the executioners of the arrest in Prouence,
vpon Cabrieres and Merindol.

HENRY by the grace of God King of Fraunce, to our first Huslier greeting: Our Proctour in our great Councell, appointed by vs Proctour in causes after mentioned, hath caused to be deliuered and tolde vnto vs, how in the yeare 1540. the 18. day of November, there was a certaine iudgement giuen in our Court of Prouence, which they would call and terme the arrest of Merindol, by vertue of which 14. or 16. particular men therein named, inhabitants of Merindol, stood condemned for default and contumacy, to be burned as heretiques and Vandois: and in case they could not be apprehended, to be burned in picture, and their wives, infants, and maidens, were defeated and abandoned: and in case they could not be taken, they were then pronounced banished, and their goods confiscate, a matter notoriously iniust, against al law & reason. And albeit that the inhabitants of the said Merindol were neuer heard nor called to their answer, yet by the said iudgement it was set down that at the houses of the said Merindol should be thrown down, & the town made inhabitable. And in the yeare 1544. the said inhabitants made their repair to the late K. of famous memory our father last deceased, whom God absolue, & others who were likewise helde for heretiques, declaring how against all truth they were tearmed Vandois, and heretiques. They obtained letters of our said late Lord and father, whome they had let to understand, how they were daily troubled and molested by the Bishops of the Countre, and by the Presidents and Cancellors of our Parliament of Prouence, who had already sued for their confiscations and landes for their kinsfolkes, minding hereby to driue them cleane out of the Countre: beseeching our said late Father, that he would search out the truth. Whereupon it was ordained, that a Maister of Requests and a Doctor of Diuinity, should goe downe to those places, and thoroughly enquire of their manner of linings, and for that the said Lord could not so readie send thither, he should in the meane time take into his owne hands, all such suites as were depending by reason thereof: and forbid all cognoissance thereof to the people of our court of Parliament of Prouence, the which euocation was signified to our said court the 25. of October following: which standing much discontented with the contents thereof, sent to the K. an Huslier to pursue letters of reuocation, which were obtained the first of Ianuary after, by which upon information made to the late Lord the King, how they had bene in armes in great assemblie, forcing towns and Castles, pulling prisoners out of prisons, and rebellious to all iustice, keeping it in subjection the said late Lord permitted them to execute the Arrestes giuen against them, reuoking the said letters of euocation, in regarde of the relapse hauing not abiuured: And ordained that all such as should be found charged and culpable of heresie, and the Vandois self, should be exterminated. And that to that end the Governour of the Countre, or his Lieutenant, should thereto employ his forces, wherby iustice might be obeyed: which letters were not signified but kept vntill the 12. of Aprill following, which was the day of Quasimodo, on which day after dinner, the first President Maister Iohn Minier, caused the said Court to assemble, and caused our Proctour to present the said letters, and require execution of the said pretended arrest, of the 18. of November 1540. of which no mention was made in the said letters, but only in generall termes of arrests giuen against the Vandois: and hereupon it was set downe, that the said pretended arrest should be executed according to the forme and tenor, making like error as before. And that the said Commissioners already deputed, should goe to the said place of Merindol, and other places requisite and necessary for the execution thereof, and that all those that were of the said sect should be exterminated, and such as were taken prisoners should be led into the Gallies for a prison: there were appointed for the executioners, Maister Francis de la Fond, second President, Honore de Tributis, and Bernard de Badet Cancellors, with whome likewise, Ma. Iohn Minier President, went as Lieutenant to our said late Father, to giue as hee sayde a strong hand onely to iustice, and to that should be needfull thereunto: and carried with him

men and artillerie, who neuer keeping the way to Merindol, went to Cadener, in which place the said Minier held a councell in the said quality of lieutenant of our said late father, and upon that they said it was reported vnto the, how ther were a great number of the said inhabitants in armes, who made a bulwark, without any further inquiry, they concluded to go assaile them, to break the said Bulwark, and kill them all if they resisted, and if they fled, that their houses should be burned, distributing to the Captains sundry villages to be burned, & consequently ransacked, albeit there was no mention made at all thereof in the said pretended arrest, which they would seeme to execute, nor any of the said inhabitants either in generall or particular, at any time called to their answer. Sundry villages were distributed to Captain Poulin, appertaining to the Lady of Cental, who had both aduertised him, and also the said Minier, how her Senates were good labouring men, and good christians, and not of the Vandois sect, praying them not to offer vnto the any iniury, offering to make them submit themselves, and obedient to iustice, wherof the said Poulin aduertised the said Minier, President, and how hee had sent vnto him a man of the long robe to know what he should do. Notwithstanding without hauing any regarde at all to the said aduertisements, there were 22. townes burned & pillaged, without any inquisition or cognoissance of cause of those which were culpable or innocent, & without any resistance made of the inhabitants parte, or any bulwark, and therewithall the goods of the said inhabitants had bene pillaged, and many women & maidens forced, and other execrable crimes committed, that done, the said pretended Commissioners went to Merindol, where they found onely one poore boy of 18. or 20. yeares of age, who had hid himselfe, whome they caused to be tied to an oliue tree, and killed with harquebuses shot, then pillaged the towne, and burned it, and that done they went to Cabrieres, where were slaine men, women, and maidens ransacked, euen within the Church: great number of men bound together, and carried into a Medow, and there cut in peeces, and sundry other most execrable cases committed, the said Minier there assistant. About La Coste were many men slaine, women & maidens ransacked, to the number of 25. within one grange, and in suite pillages committed for the space of more then 3. weekes: and the said Minier imagining the better to be able to couer the said cruelties and inhumanities, made a commission narrative, how he was aduertised that they had as well pillaged and sacked the good as the bad Christian and Vandois, by which he commanded to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, a forbidding to pill any saue such as leaue should be giuen against, by our said late Father, or himselfe. Also he set forth another comission in these termes, yee Captaines and Souldiers, who haue in charge to ruine and waste the persons & goods of the Vandois, touch not the tennants of the L. of Faulcon, who was his kinsfeman, forbiddance was also made by sound of trumpet, as well by the authoritie of the said Minier, as of the sayde de la Fond, not to giue either to eate or to drinke to any of the Vandois, without knowing who they were, and that upon paine of the Tibbet: by reason wherof many women, children, and olde people were found along the waies eating and feeding upon grasse like brute beasts, and in the end dead for extremitie of hunger. After the said cruelties and inhumanities thus committed and done, they sent commissioners to informe who they were which were suspected of heresie, and made a number be caried to the Gallies, by forme of prison, where a great parte since is dead: other their indiments being made, they enlarged quonisque, sauing vnto our Proctour more amply to informe, and other they condemned in little fines, other they purely and simply absolved, and chiefly the subjects of the Lady Cental, as appeareth by the iudgements produced: and yet all their houses should remain burned, and their goods pillaged: for this cause the said first & second Presidents, and the said de Tributis & Badet cancellors, seeing how euilly they had proceeded, and contrary to the tenor of the said letters of our said late Father, which required cognoissance of the cause, seeing also how the people of our said parliament of Prouence, had giuen iudgement contrary to al right & reason, the better imagining to be able to couer their fautes, assembled together the 5. of May following, and upon the speech & report of the said Minier & de la Fond,

they gaue another iudgement vpon the pretended arrest, that the execution begun should be perfected, and that to this end should be sent of the commissioners of our said Court, into eche of the benches, to make their proces, and declare the confiscations of goods, and againe the 20. of the said moneth & yeare they againe assembled, & gaue an other iudgement according to the precedents, containing sundry heads still thinking to conuer their faults; and knowing that the complaint was come as far as to the eares of our said late Father, they sent the saide de la Fond towards him, who vnder his information and proces verbal, obtained letters yeeuen at Arques the 18. of August 1545. approuing vnder hand the said execution, neuer having let our said late father to vnderstand the truth of the fact, but supposed by those letters, that all the inhabitants of such towns as were burned, were condemned and adiudged for heretiques & Vandois: by which letters they were commanded to receaue to mercy all such as would repent and abiure: and since we being aduertised of the truth of the fact, how without any distinction between the culpable and the innocent, contrary to all forme & order of iustice, and without any iudgment or condensation before giuen against them, they proceeded by way of fact, and of force, whereupon those cases and crimes abovesaid ensued, had appointed commissioners to informe, and that the criminall proces should be made to the said Minier, la Fond, de Tributij & Badet, in the proceeding to whose iudgements, our Proctor did require from the first day commission to call the people of our court of parliament of Prouence, to come to answer by Proctor or Syndic, to such conclusions as he purposed to take against them, for the iniquitie & ocular error of the saide iudgements, which were the causes of the saide crimes, cruelties & iniquities, vpon which there hath not as yet bene done him any right: and seeing that they passed further in iudgements of proces, without therupon doing any right, doubting he would say that he was not the appellant, he presented a request to the Commissioners chosen by vs Iudges of the saide proces, to the end hee might be receaued appellant, of the execution of Merindol, and of that which ensued thereon. And for that to receaue our saide Proctor appellant of an approued execution, by an arrest or iudgement of a court of Parliament, depended onely of our authority, and the power and commission of our said commissioners stretched not so far, and for that it grew also a case wherein iudgement was to be giuen against one of the courts of our parliaments: we willed & ordained that our court of parliament of Paris (which is the first and principall court of all our soueraine courts) should haue the proceeding and triall thereof: and to that end we made our letters patentes be dispatched the 21. of January, but it was found, how the very day that the saide first appellations (which were of the saide conclusion to burne, made at Cadener, of the execution done in the person of him which was shotte thorough with harquebusies, of the forbiddance to giue no foode) were pleaded by our saide Proctor before our said Commissioners, and that in pleading of the saide appellations, the said Precedents, Minier, de la Fond, de Tributij & Badet, coucellors, stood principally to the points not to receiue, saying that they were the arrests & iudgements of our court of parliament of Prouence: & that by the letters patentes of our said late Father, the saide execution was allowed, so as he could not be receaued appellant, but that his request and appellations were ioyned to the proces criminall, for that cause he presented another request, to be receaued appellant of the saide iudgements or pretended arrests, as giuen by such as were no iudges, without euer hearing of the parties, vpon simple requests of the Proctors of our said late father, without cognisance of the cause, and containing vnrighteous errors, cruelties & inhumanities, persisting to that, that according to our said letters patentes, the saide appellations might be pleaded in the great Chamber of our Parliament of Paris, &c. For this cause it is that we after hauing vnderstoode the quality of the fact, which is in question, the scandale which was and is not only throughout this Realme, but also strange countries, and to the end that in like sorte as so miserable executions hauing bene done in the saide places, were publicly done, so they may be publicly repaired, if there be any faultes, and the truth knowne not onely to our Iudges, but also to all our Subiectes and Strangers, who may stand therein amisse conceaued, as well as for the dutie of iustice, and preservation of the

memory of our saide late L. and Father, haue by these presents, of our certaine knowledge, full of puissance and royall authoritie, euoked, and doe euoke to our parson, the instance of the request made by our said Proctor of the Queenes Chamber, presented before the Iudges of the said chamber, and the appellations formed by him, of the executions done in the saide place of Merindol, and other Villages, vpon which the parties haue already bene heard before the saide Iudges, appointed to counsell, and ioyned to principall proces, to be anew pleaded, as the saide requests and appellations being inseparable, with the request and appellations a new cast in by our Proctor, with the request likewise presented, tending to the end to be receiued, to carry himselfe for appellant of the pretended iudgements and executions of the saide letters patentes aboue specified, and all the whole we haue by these saide presents sent back, and do send back into our Court of Parliament of Paris, in the saide great Chamber of pleading, on the 20. day of May next comming, there for to be publicly and with doore wide open pleaded, and the parties being heard, to ordaine thereon what shall seeme fit by reason.

So we command and ordaine by these presents that the people of our Parliament of Prouence, together the saide Minier, De la Fond, Badet and Tributij, and others to whome it may appertain, be cited at the saide day, to our said court of Parliament at Paris, in the saide great chamber of pleading, to maintaine and defend their saide iudgements and executions, and of the saide letters patentes, and the proceedings and other wronges and griefes, and to see them repaired, corrected and amended, if neede so require; if not, to proceede further according to reason, and to adournie at the saide day the saide people of our Parliament of Prouence, to appeare in our saide Court by Syndic or Proctor, who shalbe appointed by them to defend the saide appellations, and answer to our saide Proctor, and likewise the saide Minier, De la Fond, de Tributij & Badet, and other the aduerse parties of our saide Proctor if any there be, commaunding them that they be and appeare, at the saide daie in our saide Court, if they see it needfull, and that the saide appellations may any waies touch them or appertaine vnto them: making vnto them such inhibitions and forbiddances as are in such cases required, to which our said Court of Parliament of Paris, in the saide chamber of pleading, of our speciall grace, full of puissance and royall authoritie, we haue (as is aboue saide) attributed, and do attribute, the cognisance and decision of the saide appellations, notwithstanding any establishing of our saide Parliament of Prouence, or any appointments giuen by our said Commissioners, vpon the request of our said Proctor, ioyned to the criminal proces, with the first appellations already pleaded, wherein we wil not preiudice our said Proctor, and what other edicts, fouer, comandements, restraints & forbiddances to the contrary notwithstanding: from which, wherein it shalbe needfull, we haue derogated and doe derogate of our said puissance & authority by these saide presents, for such is our pleasure. Teouen at Montreuaux the 17. of March, in the yeare of grace 1549. of our Raigne the 3. So by the King.

Scaled with the great seale of yellow waxe, vpon a single Lable.

These letters of euocation being signified, and the Parliament of Paris possessed of the cause, there appeared in person the President Minier L. of Opide, de la Fond, de Tributij & Badet, and the ouerplus of the Parliament of Aix by a Proctor. The cause was pleaded in the great Chamber of the Pallace, by the most famous aduocates of that time, Riant was for the King, Robert for the Iudges of Prouence, Aubert for the of Merindol & Cabrieres, an other for the Lady of Cantal, to the number of 12. & their pleadings and declarations endured a long time, more then 50 hearings. Euery man ran thither our of all parts to hear such matters as heuer were heard the like, for excess of cruelty: and albeit the Aduocates of the Plaintifes parte did not recite the tenth parte of that which was, yea rather dissimbled the cause for which so much innocent blood had bene shed, yet so it was as all men were ravished with a kinde of astonishment, hearing so great and strange matters, an occasion that euery man expected

a last iudgement worthy of the matter, after such and so long pleadings, but in the end from so high mountaines there can come out but a very little smoke, which also very suddenly doth euaporate it selfe into a clowde out of the sight of men: the President *Minier* cheefe in all accusations, hauing beene a long time detained prisoner, attainted, and conuicted of whatsoeuer they would lay to his charge, in the end escaped their hands: the Aduocate *Guerin* being hanged at Paris, *Minier* found meanes not only to escape, but also to be restored to his former estate, after hauing promised and assured, that he would cleanse Prouence of these new Christians, yea & that all his life long he would be reuenged, for that by their occasion he was driuen so neere his neck verfe. Let vs now look back into the desseines of *K. Henry*, who prepared himself to lead an army, for the Protestants succour of Germany against the Emperour.

K. Henry 2. hauing assigned day and place to such forces as hee would conduct to the succour of the Germanes against the Emperour, which amounted nere to 25000. Fantassins of French, 7000. Lanseknightes, 1200. men of armes, with their archers, two thousand light horse, and as many harquebusiers, mounted vnder the Duke *D'Aumale*, went to holde his bed of iustice in the Parliament of Paris, where hauing admonished euery man of his duty, aduertised his subiects of his enterprise, & made a number of ordinances as well for the reformation of iustice, as the discipline of war, and ordained the Admirall *D'Anebaut* Viceroy throughout Fraunce, causing the Constable to march before with the auantgarde, he passed on his way to *Ginuille*, where the Dowager of Lorraine presented her selfe, to yeelde her selfe with her sonne, and the whole Duchie into his protection, and also to excuse her selfe of some intelligences, which it was reported she had with his enemies; afterwards she retired herselfe to *Blamont*: from *Toulh* the Constable auanced the army right to *Metz*, the deputies wherof had vntill that time debated of their ancient priuiledges, confirmed by a number of Emperours and Kinges of Fraunce, offering notwithstanding victualles to the whole army, without that any other sauing the *K.* with certaine Lordes might enter in: but the Constable who as the stronger, would not debate such pretences, by any other lawes, then the right of the Cannon, hauing limited vnto them a day for their last answere, resolved to enter therein with 2. Ensignes of 600. men, which being doubled, they were found so long, that the first which were entred had meanes enough to repel the inhabitants, whilst that the rest entred peccemeale to assure that Towne, the tenth day of Aprill to the Flower de lys: in the meane time that the King entred in armes within *Toulh*, followed with his whole traine, the Heralds of armes clad in their Crimson veluet coates, azured, thick embrodered with Flowers de lys, with their Trumpets, Clarions, after hauing sworn to maintaine their priuiledges, and reformed the gouernement and pollicie at his pleasure, he aduanced forwards to *Nancy* cheefe Cittie of *Lorraine*, where came forth to meete him, the yong Duke, conducted by the earle of *Vaudemont* his vnckle, & sundry others. The *K.* hauing made his entry as at *Toulh*, ordained there *Vaudemont* Gouernour of the Cuntry, to the profite of the Duke, and hauing prouided him of his estate, he sent him vnder the charge of *Bordillon* to *Reimes*, where were the Dolphin and his brethren: after going further, and approching neere *Metz*, he saw his army in this manner. There were three square battailes of Fanterie, of which the first was of the olde ensignes, paid & entertained in the time of the late *K.* for the wars of *Piemont*, *Champagne*, & *Boulogne*, with other new companies, leuiued in the beginning of these warres (without comprehending therein any souldiers of marke, or yong gentlemen who were there for their plesure and without paye) to the number of betweene 15. and 16000. men, where-

of be-

Guerin hanged
at paris.

The voiage of
the army of
Henry King of
Fraunce, for the
succour of the
protestant prin-
ces of Germany,
against the Em-
perour Charles
the fifth.

Priuiledges of
Metz, debated.

Metz, *Toulh*,
Verdun, *Nancy*,
&c. taken by
the French.

Priuiledges of
the townes
maintained.

The armie of
Fraunce repre-
sented in the
fielde, and first
the Fanterie.

of betweene nine and ten thousand were armed with Corselets, Bourguinots with beuers, vambraces, gauntelets and tases, downe to the knee, carrying long staues, and the greatest parte a Pistoll at their girdle: and betweene a fixe and fixe thousand harquebusiers, armed with iacks and fleeces of mayle, with rich Morions, and of goodly workmanship, a harquebuse or handgun, bright, well polished and light, their furniture exquisite and braue, the rest being armed according to the qualitie of their persons. The second battaile was of *Galcoines*, *Armignacs*, *Balsques*, *Bearnois*, *Languedois*, *Perigourdins*, *Prouenceaux*, and *Auuergnacs*: making shew betweene ten and twelue thousand men, experte, and vsed to the warre, as well at Sea as land, whereof betweene eight and nine thousand carried long staues, armed with corselets, and almane riuets, and two or three thousand harquebusiers, with mailles and morions. The third was of Germanes, to the number of 7. or 8. thousand, vnder the Count *Ringraf* their Colonell, men of warre & assured, as they made good prooffe in their order, and march of battaile, wel enough armed according to their manner, as wel Pikes as shot. Touching the men of armes, and light Caualerie, the whole was ordained by ranckes vpon the flankes of these battails, in number of 1000 or 1100. men at armes, with the company of archers. The men at armes were mounted vpon great Rousins, or coursfers of the realme, Turkes and Ginets, with bardes of of such colours in silke, as the Captains caried from the crown of their head to the sole of their foot, with head peeces and pouldrons, the lance, the sword, the dagger, the courtlasse, or the Mace, with reckoning their traine of other horses, wheron were their seruants & groomes: ouer all which right well appeared the cheeftaines and members of these companies, and other great Lords, very richly armed with gilte, & cunningly engraued harnesse, vpon readie horses, barde and caparisoned, with bardes and of Steele, light and rich, or els of strong mayle and light, couered ouer with Veluet, cloth of golde and goldsmiths worke, and Embroderers, with great magnificence. The archers lightly armed carrying the halfe lance, the pistoll at saddle pommel, the sworde or the courtlasse, mounted vpon horses stirring, and curuetting at pleasure, among which according to the power of eche one, nothing was forgotten to set forth himselfe, who should doe best. As touching the light Caualerie, there might be neere 2003. light horse, which were armed with corselets, vambraces, and bourguinots, the half lance or pistoll, the courtlasse, if it seemed good, or the Geldersword mounted vpon caualins, double courtals or horse well shaped and very swift. The harquebusiers on horseback were between 12. & 1500. armed with iacks & fleeces of maile, or curats, the Bourguinot, or the morion, the harquebuse of 3. foot long at the saddle pummel, mounted vpon good courtals, euery man according to his ability, vnder the Duke of *Aumaile*, generall of al the light Caualerie. There was also 3. or 400. englishmen departed out of their country to practise the war, vnder a certain Lord, vpon geldings and little nags, swift & prompt, without being much armed, clad in short Ierkins & red caps, according to their manner, and a lance like a halfe pike, which they very well know how to handle, They are good men, desirous to know and exercise the warres, as such haue very well proued as haue bene with them. But as all men mized much at the sight of this armie, euen such as were appointed to keep the baggage, a number of souldiers, seruants & peasants, come out of *Theonuille* brake in, cheefely on the side of the Lance-knightes, from whom they caried the better, before people could be appointed to follow the, which occasioned since many yong Frenchmen, especially of the light horse, to attache the garrison, and to try the selues, against those of *Theonuille* with more pleasure & warlike exercise notwithstanding, the harme that happened to the one part or the other.

H 3

The

The men at
armes and light
Caualerie.

Light Caualerie.

Harquebusiers
mounted.

Englishmen.

The K. army be-
fore Metz.

The King having taken great pleasure at the order, equipage, behaviour, and salutation, which all they did vnto him, commanded them to march continually in battaile, armed at all peaces, afterwards he was saluted by his artillerie, placed a little aboue the army, within the vignes vpon a platforme: to wit, 16. great Canons, 6. long Culuerines, 6. lesser, 12. bastard culuerins, the whole conducted by *D'Estre*, great master and generall of the artillerie of Fraunce: the next morrowe the King entred into Metz, at the gate Champanoise, with great magnificence vnder a Canapie, carried by foure of the best Gentlemen of marke in the Countrie, marching after the Officers, the Cleargie before followed by Cardinals, then the Constable barehead, armed at all peaces, bearing a naked Sworde before the King, who at the gate of the great Temple sware vpon the Euangelists to maintaine them in their rights and ancient priuiledges: after hauing giuen order to the gouernement and fortifications, aboue all to cut the towne, to raise there a rampier vpon the height of a mount, which commaunded, and hauing leste *Arthus de Cossé* called *Gonor*, brother to the Marshall *Brissac* gouernor, with 200. light horse, a cōpany of ordinance, twelue ensignes for the garde of victuals which from all partes was to come to the army, he departed the 20. of Aprill, after his Auantgarde ledde by the Constable: and leauing behinde him in forme of arrieregarde, foure hundred men at armes, with a number of light horse, to aduance and assure the rearegarde, in like sorte the three troupes marched continually in battaile, and all their armes on their back, how dangerous a time and place foeuer they found. An occasion that many, who before had liued at great ease and delicacie, died: and many more for hauing drunke too much of those olde waters, fell sick at their returne. The armie rested two dayes in the faire and rich plaine of Sauerne, about the beginning of May 1552. to refresh the Souldiers, after the *Caualiere* gaue within one league of Strasbourg. In the meane season, and while the King remained at Sauerne, to repose his armie, and attende newes from the Germane Princes, they of Strasbourg wise by the example of the Melsins, negociated with the King, as well for the commoditie of his armie, as suretie of their towne: the King had already commaunded them to provide victuals for the armie, and for that cause they deputed *Pierre Sturme*, *Gosselem*, and *Sleiden*, who brought vnto him great quantity of Come and wine, but the Constable no whit regarded what they offered, by reason of the greatnes of the armie: And albeit the Embassadors were departed from him in such sorte, that they were to aduertise the Senate, and after to yeeld him answer: yet the very next morning he sent two gentlemen, by whom he pressed the to answer with a long discourse of the Kings good will towards Germany, and for what cause he had entred into armes, and bene at so greata charge: to wit, to recouer their libertie, now enslaved by the Imperials, his other demaund was, that by reason the men at armes, stood in need of sundry things, that it might be lawfull for them to buie them within the town, and that it might be permitted to the artificers, to bring their ware to the Campe, and sell it there: whereupon the Senate answered, that in matters of so great importance, they were not accustomed to conclude of ought, but by aduise of the generall councill of all their Seignory, and that after hauing consulted with them, they would send Deputies to declare their minde, so leaue being giuen them to departe, the next morrowe, the same men were sent to the Campe, which as yet remayned at Sauernes. Their tale being heard, ioyned thereto that they brought a little more munition then at first, and their reasons set downe why they might not suffer anye men at armes to enter the towne, the Constable began to speake in choller: and in deliuering how vniuistly they iudged of the benefites of the King, and of the iniu-
ries

The Kentry into
Metz, and priue-
leges graunted
to the towne.

The K. approacheth
to Strasbourg.

The K. demaund
to them of
Strasbourg.

ries of the Emperour, he added certaine biting tearmes, the end of his tale was that the next morrow the King would speake with them in person, and confer whatfoeuer he had vnto them. The same daye the Embassadors repired to the King, with whom was the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Prince of Vendosme, and the Constable, where they recited as much as had bene deliuered by them to the Constable, at two parties, and presented vnto him as much Oates as they had done before Wicarte, and a little more Wine, beseeching him that for the ancient amitie which the signorie of Strasbourg had with the King of Fraunce, and for his owne curesse, hee would take in good parte their offer, the rather for that there was a great Garrison within the Towne, called thether for feare of surprise, and a great number of Paisants were likewise retired thither out of the Countrie, which caused the Cittie not to be so well able to spare her prouision. The King after hauing conferred with his Councell, began himselfe to repeate the cause which made him come into Germany, in like sorte as the Constable had the day before deliuered, how that victuals was a matter most necessary, and not to be denyed to any person in the warde, offering to pay for them, were he not an enemy, otherwise if his stood in any need, he would finde meanes to finde it, cost as it could, which would turne to a great damage, as euery man might perceiue. In the meane time he refused nothing which was offered, but would needs haue bread, the Deputies on the other side besought him that hee would be contented with corne: as they could not fall to agreement, so away they went without doing ought, the Deputies being returned into the Towne, the Senate ordained, that albeit they were not able to deliuer any of the Corne within the towne, yet they should make bread in the Countries neere hand, as much as they might be able, for they had both tolde the King and the Constable, that the estate of the towne and disposition of the time was such, as they were not to tarrie for ought, but if they could reape any thing of the Countries about, they would most willingly parte with it. The which the Senate had ordained, to the ende no wrong might be offered to the people of their Villages, nor their goods, so whatfoeuer could be found in any the Towns or Villages, was carried to the Campe, but it was no great matter.

Now all Lorraine being surprised, together with the Towne of Metz, they of Strasbourg suddenly leauied fise thousand men for the defence of their towne, afterwards they pulled downe many buildings, as well publick as particular, they spoiled the gardens, and rooted vp the trees, and generally all that which might either hinder the view or serue the enemies vse, and of that part which they esteemed most necessary, they fortified the Towne the best that they were able: that without all doubt annoyed some of the French in such sorte, as the Constable could not holde his peace, the last time that he spake to the Deputies: and the Germanes perswaded themselves, that as vnder a colour of some amitie they had entred into Metz, so they would attempt the like at Strasbourg, but knowing the town to be maruelous strong, and seeing all things so diligently prepared for the defence thereof, they changed their mindes as they say; and the better to passe by the remouing of their Campe, they took the way of Hagenau and Wisbourg, thither the deputies of the Prince Palatine, of the Archbishops of Maience and Treuues, of the Dukes of Cleues and Witemberg, who had bene assembled at Wormes for the good of the common wealth, came vnto the King, whose request was, that hee would not waste the plaine Countrie, and would take pittie of the poore comminaltie, and since that hee protested that he had made this warre for the libertie of Germany, that he would stay his armie, for that if hee passed further, it would be to the great damage of the Empire,

Strasbourg leuied
fifteen hundred
men to defende
the towne by
the example of
Metz.

The Princes de-
puted to the
King.

The Germanes
besought the K.
not to enter
Germany, but
returne.

they besought him then that hee would encline his hart to the making of a peace, of which as they had alreadye spoken to the Emperour, so would they againe deale with him, hauing a good hope thereof. As touching his demaund of making an allyance betweene them, they besought him to haue regarde to their honour and good renowne, for that they could not by any meanes persourme, by reason of their faith, by which they were bound to the Empire; notwithstanding they would employ all their endeouours to the establishing of a publicke peace. Moreouer they most affectionately besought him not to endemnishe the territorie of Strasbourge, which is a free Citie of the Empire, and that at his request *Albert Duke of Brandebourg*, would more curteously entreate the B. of Wicibourg. At the very same time, to wit, the eleuenth of May, *Maurice* sent letters to the King, wherein was contained all that had bene done at Lincy, where the confederate Princes of Germany had entreated of certaine articles of peace with *Ferdinand*, who negociated the same for the Emperour, of whose parte he had promised a good and prompt resolution, for the benefite and quiet of all Germany. In like sorte he required of the King (whom he would should be comprehended in the same treatie of peace) that hee would set downe vnder what conditions he would compound with the Emperour. These letters being receiued contrary to his expectation, and knowing well that the Queene of Hungary with troupes of men of warre, had taken Satenay, and burned whatsoeuer she met without defence, iudging besides of *Maurices* purposes as he thought good, he determined of his returne, so as hauing deuided his army into three partes, the better to conduct it with fewer discōmodities, and to make it march by diuers waies, and yet arriue altogether at one place, he left Germany; but before his departure hee answered to the Princes Deputies, that he had obtained that, for which hee was come into Germany with all his army, for the Captiue Princes should be deliuered which was the occasion of the warre: hee had then attained glory enough, if euer it should happen that Germany should stand in neede of him, he would neither spare trauaile nor expence, nor would faile to put himselfe againe into all dangers, for to succour them, at this present he would retire into his owne Realme with his armye, for hee vnderstoode that the enemy did ouerrunne his Countrey. As touching the complaints of the poore people, he receaued great displeasure thereat, but discipline can neuer be so good in a Campe, but that militarie licence will breede some damage; for his owne parte he gaue the best order that he was able, that no man should be interessed, if not, yet the least that might be, and that the offenders should be rigourously punished: As touching that which they wrote of the Emperour, and of a peace, he referred himselfe to them; through his trauaile, diligence and prowesse, Germany stode now freed from those miseries in which she stode enwrapped: henceforward it was for them to looke to it, that they did not villanously loose that liberty, which he so honourably had rendred vnto them, he could not deny their demaund, on the behalfe of those of Strasbourge, albeit that at such time as hee was with his armye vpon their marches, many behaued themselves insolently and immodestly towards his people; notwithstanding to entertain his confederates, and to haue a man alwaies in Germany, which might assure him of the true estate of the affaires, as they passed betweene the Imperialles and the confederates, and the better to be aduertised of the Emperours intents, he lefte *Du Fresne* B. of Bayonne his Embassadour about *Maurice*, who did there as you shall vnderstand, after hauing represented vnto you the estate, in which in the meane time stode the armies of the Emperour, and of *Maurice* ioyned with his allies, together with the conduct and last end of their enterprises, in which it shalbe an

The King answer to
the Deputies.

ease matter for you to iudge, what fauours and disaduantiges the K. of Fraunce his armye brought to the one side and to the other.

We haue before tolde you how *Maurice* was departed from Lincy, where they had articulated certaine conditions of peace, *Ferdinand* suddainly after the assembly, took his iourney to Enipont towards the Emperour, to make him vnderstand the whole. In the meane time *Maurice* being come backe to the Campe, drew towards the Alpes with his companions, where being egged forward by the Embassadour of Fraunce, he determined to set vpon those troupes which the Emperour had caused to be leuyed in that countrey, so as the 17. day of May approaching neere vnto Fiesse, a Towne situate at the entrie of the Alpes vpon the riuer Lech, and hauing vnderstood by his spies sent to descry the countenance of the enemyes, how they had sealed on all the straites, and had so ensconced themselves, as it was vnpossible to doe them harme, he contented himselfe to send certaine of the cheefest, which galloped euē to their Campe, and tooke some, which they brought away with them, among whome they tooke *Langue du Kesse*. The next morrow aduancing forward with the Infanterie, 200. men at armes, arriued at the straites of the mountaines, which about 800. of the Emperours souldiers kept with two fildes peeces, but they quickly seuered them, so as they being put to flight, sufficiently astonished those which were nere vnto Rute, the rather for that the Princes following them foote by foote in such sort, set vpon the rest, that they defeated them, in killing about one thousand, and sundrie other as well taken as drowned within the Riuer of Lech, with an Ensigne there lefte behinde.

The next morrowe they battered the forte of Ereberge, with so good hap as they tooke the fortresse seated on the top of the Castle, thereby rendring themselves masters of the Cause, and of the great Cannons which they found there, which done they clambred vp the mountaine, strong and painefull, euē to the Castle, albeit the bullets fell among them like hailestones, notwithstanding which, it was for all that rendred vp vnto them, by 13. Ensignes of foote, whereof nine were taken, and foure saued themselves, and among them three were of Germanes, and three of Italians, about two thousand prisoners were led away, with some losse of the other; this done, and as *Maurice* would haue gained the Causey, the souldiers ouer whome *Riseberg* had charge, refused to goe on any further, except they might receaue extraordinary wages, by reason of the taking of Ereberg: whereupon hauing caused one of the seditious persons which cryed out highest to be taken, the rest did not onelye bende their Pikes against him, but many in like sorte shot a number of bullets at him out of Harquebuses, in such sorte as he hardly saued himselfe: in the end notwithstanding the Chiefetaines appeased all, and the 21. of May, two regimentes were sent by the Alpes to Enipont, which was but two dayes iourney thence, the Caualerie remaying with a regiment of Fantassins about Fiesse and Rute, to keepe the passage: then *Maurice* and the Princes allied, followed the next morrowe, and ioyned with the Infanterie neere Zirole, distant from Enipont two leagues; an occasion why the Emperour hauing receiued newes of the winning of Ereberge, departed from Enipont in the night in great haste and much trouble, with his brother *Ferdinand*, who was come thither but a little before to perswade a peace, as hath bene tolde you, so as by keeping the way of the mountaines on the lesse hand, which leadeth to Trent, he retired himselfe to Villac a towne of Cornia vpon the Diane: he likewise had set at libertie a little before that, *John Frederic Duke of Saxe*, whome hee had caused to be shutte vp in prison siue whole yeares together, and now released him, for feare lest

The exploits of
Maurices army
vpon the Empe-
rours troupes.

The princes
gaine the straites
of the moun-
taines.

The defeating of
the Emperors
people.

Sedition in Mau-
rices Campe.

The Emperour
flyeth.

The D. of Saxe
deliuered out of
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loweth the Em-
perour through-
out Germany.

the

the enemy should arrogate the same to his glorie, which likewise the captiue was not himselfe desirous of: being at liberty, he notwithstanding accompanied the Emperour whether soeuer he went.

Maurice being arriued at Enipont, whatsoeuer was found lefte of the Emperours stuffe, or appertaining to any of the Spaniards, or to the Cardinall of Ausbourg, was piled, but no harme was offered to the goods of *Ferdinand*, nor of the Citizens: And for so much as there rested then but three dayes of the truce, which had beene accorded in respect of the future treatie, *Maurice* wēt from thence to Passau, but the princes his companions, returned backe the same way they came, and rendred theselues at Fiefse the 20. of May; and afterwarde published letters at Ausbourg, as well in their owne name as in *Maurices*, in these tearmes.

The confederate Princes letters against the Emperour, for religion, and the liberty of Germany.

WHereas in our former writings we haue affirmed that our entrance into armes, was for the defence of religion, and the liberty of Germany, the matter it selfe & our bound dutie doth require that we ordaine sufficient Doctours for the Churches, and instruction of youth, for it is most cleare and hath not any need of more ample prooffe, how the enemies of the truth haue euer employed all their force to destroy the good Doctours, thereby to establishe their Popish Idol, and cause youth to encrease therein, being nourished in these errors, and false doctrines, for euen at that instant when they durst not publickly speak their mindes of religion, they then studied by all meanes to roote out at the very bottome all true doctrine, and not onely haue they imprisoned the good doctours, but likewise in this very towne vnderlooked for, and with great inhumanity haue they constrained them by oath to departe out of the whole teritorie of the Empire: and albeit that this oath be most wicked, and not grounded vpon any right or equitie, yet to take away all occasion of detraction, we haue reuoked the selfesame Ministers and Schoolmasters which our aduersaries had chased hence: wherefore we declare all those absolved, which haue beene cast out by meanes of the band wherewith they stood bound through their oath: we restore them to their full libertie, with commaundement that not onely in this cittie, but also in all other places they preach the word of God purely, and according to that confession which hath bene heere at other times presented, and teach their youth rightly and holesomelye in good learning, relying vpon our succour and protection. We forbid in like sorte, that none taunt the with any iniurious worde, as if they had done ought against their faith and oath, considering that without any deserte, but meere for confession of the truth, that they haue already liued many moneths in exile, we make no doubt but good men wil greatly pittie them, and esteeme them worthy of being succoured and releued with all fauour. And for so much as those which in the absence of the other haue taught in this Cittie, be men suspected and vnconstant, so as by reason of their diuers fashion of teaching they may not be commodiously with those which we haue called home. We require the Senate to take from them the chaire, and to carry themselves in such sorte as this our present Edict may remaine in force.

After that the Princes had published these letters the 7. of Iune, fise dayes after they installed againe the Protestant Ministers in their places, and gaue them againe a great charge to preach, to the wonderfull reioycing and pleasure of the people.

Maurice went his way in the meane time to Passau to entreat of peace, where the fift of Iune all that had beene handled at Lincy was repeated, and the whole matter set downe and explained at large by *Maurice*. There were present the Emperours embassadours, King *Ferdinand*, *Albert* Diof Bauiere, the Bishops of Salisbourg and Deister

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ster, and the Embassadours of all the Princes Electors of Cleues, and of Witemberg. *Maurice* greatly complained how the common wealth of the Empire, which ought to be the freest of all other, was gouerned by strangers, how the authoritye of the Princes Electors, was from day to daye diminished, how many things were done without euer once demanding their aduice, how sundrye appertinances were dismembred, and cleane aliened from the Empire, and the meanes sought how their right might be vtterly taken away from the chusing of the Emperour, how in the imperiall daies for the most part they left behinde the opinions of the Electors, how the particular assemblies of the Electors remained there, I know not with what feare how their iurisdiction diminished, for so much as contrarye to the ancient custome the Chamber receiued the griefes and complaints of those, which were the appellants of that which they had ordained: the differents of the estates of the Empire were thereby increased, and could not be pacified vntil both partes were greatly interested, how it grew to too great an expence and trouble, but to haue audience in the Emperours Court, for that causes could not ordinarily be throughlye vnderstoode, for want of well vnderstanding the language: how not onely great charge grewe thereof, but much time there spent without any profit; how at the imperiall dayes there was small amitye, for if any one proposed ought for the benefite of the comon wealth, it was strait construed in the worst part, how Germany drew it selfe clean dry through these so often and long assemblies, and in the meane time many things went to racke at home, and yet for all that the publicke estate waxed not better but worse, and stil enwrapped in more miseries, how it was forbidden by a rigorous Edict, that none shuld be entertained in wages by strangers, how such as are reconciled are bound not to carrie armes against any of the Emperours prouinces, and by that means are separte from the Empire; how those which in the warre of Smalcade serued but their owne Lords, were condemned in great fines, and how they leuiued monie in like sorte of those, which during the saide warre continually remained in the amitye of the Emperour, yea vpon paine of seeing their goods solde before their eyes, except they made a quick dispatch; and because their Deputies accorded together, incontinently proclamation was made that they should departe from the Court vpon paine of death; how often they had brought strangers, men at armes into Germany, and after the last watre disperfed them throughout the prouinces, where they committed a thousand villanies and disorders, and bragging how they had tamed Germany, and boasted that she should be annexed to the Emperours patrimony, and how in the cheefe and principall Citties should be erected fortes and bulwarkes to bridle them in, how as it were in mockery, they carried out of Germany to strange nations great quantity of peeces of artillerie, and furnitnre of warre; how some for extreme couetousnes of vaine glorye, haue engraued in such peeces as they caused to be newe cast, the armes of the Princes of Germanye, as who would say that they had wonne them from them; how they had imprinted little bookes, yea with priuiledge of the Emperour, to the great dishonour of Germany, as if she had bene vtterly tamed and brought into bondage; how at publique assemblies some were receaued to the number of the Princes and estates, vnder the name of the Emperours prouinces, which was craftily done, to the end that the number being encreased, they might gain their wils by multitude of voyces; how foure yeares passed they had erected a Parliament of the Chamber, and how lawes were priuatelye made by some, and since published not without the great damage of a number, and especially of those, of the religion of Ausbourg, for they gaue vnto them no place at all in this assemblye; it is then most necessary,

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stet, and the Embassadors of all the Princes Electors of Cleues, and of Witemberg, *Maurice* greatly complained how the common wealth of the Empire, which ought to be the freest of all other, was gouerned by strangers, how the authoritye of the Princes Electors, was from day to daye diminished, how many thinges were done without euer once demanding their aduice, how sundrye appertinances were dismembred, and cleane aliened from the Empire, and the meanes sought how their right might be vtterly taken away from the chusing of the Emperour, how in the imperiall daies for the most part they left behinde the opinions of the Electors, how the particular assemblies of the Electors remained there, I know not with what feare how their iurisdiction diminished, for so much as contrarye to the ancient custome the Chamber receiued the griefes and complaints of those, which were the appellants of that which they had ordained: the differents of the estates of the Empire were thereby increased, and could not be pacified vntil both partes were greatly interested, how it grew to too great an expence and trouble, but to haue audience in the Emperours Court, for that causes could not ordinarily be throughlye vnderstoode, for want of well vnderstanding the language: how not onely great charge grewe thereof, but much time there spent without any profit; how at the imperiall dayes there was small amirye, for if any one proposed ought for the benefite of the comon wealth, it was strait construed in the worst part, how Germany drew it selfe clean dry through these so often and long assemblies, and in the meane time many thinges went to racke at home, and yet for all that the publicke estate waxed not better but worse, and stil enwrapped in more miseries, how it was forbidden by a rigorous Edict, that none shuld be entertained in wages by strangers, how such as are reconciled are bound nor to carrie armes against any of the Emperours prouinces, and by that means are seporate from the Empire; how those which in the warre of Smalcade serued but their owne Lords, were condemned in great fines, and how they leuiued monie in like sorte of those, which during the saide warre continually remained in the amitye of the Emperour, yea vpon paine of seeing their goods solde before their eyes, except they made a quick dispatch; and because their Deputies accorded together, incontinently proclamation was made that they should departe from the Court vpon paine of death; how often they had brought strangers, men at armes into Germany, and after the last watre disperfed them throughout the prouinces, where they committed a thousand villanies and disorders, and bragging how they had tamed Germany, and boasted that she should be annexed to the Emperours patrimony, and how in the cheefe and principall Citties should be erected fortes and bulwarkes to bridle them in, how as it were in mockery, they carried out of Germany to strange nations great quantity of peeces of artillerie, and furnitnre of warre; how some for extreme couetousnes of vaine glorye, haue engraued in such peeces as they caused to bee newe cast, the armes of the Princes of Germany, as who would say that they had wonne them from them; how they had imprinted little bookes, yea with priuiledge of the Emperour, to the great dishonour of Germany, as if she had bene vtterly tamed and brought into bondage; how at publique assemblies some were receaued to the number of the Princes and estates, vnder the name of the Emperours prouinces, which was craftily done, to the end that the number being encreased, they might gain their wils by multitude of voyces; how foure yeares passed they had erected a Parliament of the Chamber, and how lawes were priuatelye made by some, and since published not without the great damage of a number, and especially of those, of the religion of Ausbourg, for they gaue vnto them no place at all in this assemblye; it is then most necessary,

necessary, said he, that the lawes should be examined at the very first assembly, *Maurice* proposed these things and sundry other more, requiring to haue them amended, considering how they touched the Empire, and that the Empire might be restored to her ancient brightnes, and that it might not be lawfull for other to scoffe them or despise them: the Commissioners after hauing consulted together, iudged that the demands contained nothing in them but great equitie, and yet to the ende the Emperours honour might be preserved, and that himselfe might the rather be perswaded thereunto, they were of opinion that many matters which concerned the reformation of the publique estate might very well be referred to an imperiall day.

There was also *Du Fresne* the French Embassadour, who made his oration in full audience of all the Princes, the 13. of Iune, saying: *That in olde time and long before euer the name of French was heard of among men, there had bene so great a conformatie of life betweene the Gaullois and the Almans, that at other times they were called by the Latins, Germanes, as brethren to the Gaullois: but after that the French had seated themselves in Gaul, the two nations were so vnited together, that it was one selfe same Empire, vnder the same Prince and the same lawes. Afterwards as in change of time the empire was transferred to Germany, so did the Saxons and other Emperours alwaies entertaine amitie with the French, for because they were descended from the Kings of Fraunce: in such sorte as Philip Augustus caused to be engraued in letters of golde, that ancient alliance which was as it were cleane abolished thorough antiquitie, and to be set up in the most holie place, and not without cause, for whilst that this coniunction endured, the common welth of both the people flourished, and the force of Germany was so great, as it gaue lawes not onely to the Hungarians, Bohemians, Pollakes & Danes, but also to the very Italians: and the Kings of Fraunce in like sorte curious to amplifie Religion, did often beare armes against Sarazins, Turkes, and other enemies of Christendome, through Asia, Affrica, and Europe, in atchiuing of most glorious victories. Since that, we are come in a more unhappie age, when as some Emperours as it were engrafted in, and not of the naturall stocke of Germanes, and unworthy of their estate, haue cleane abandoned this amitie of the Kings of Fraunce: whereupon there ensued great misfortunes in the Common wealth. But this soare was healed by the grace of God, by meanes of the noble families of the Princes of Luxembourg, out of which some Emperours descended, men of high renowne, and great freendes to the Kings of Fraunce, for the Father of Charles the fourth died in fighting for the King of Fraunce. The Princes of Austria haue bene in like sorte afflicted, among whome Albert the first could not possibly be induced by any of the Popes promises or threats, to make warre against Fraunce, which hee recited to the end it might be vnderstoode, how ill some of the familiars and seruants to the most puissant emperour Charles the fifth order the common wealth, not onely seeking by all their trauell to disioyne these two most excellent Nations the one from the other, but before this thorough their subtilties and wilines they haue preuailed so farre, as the most famous Prince King Frauncis was condemned for an enemy without being heard. It is true that that redoured to their particular profite, but to the great dammage of the Common wealth, for it may evidently enough be perceiued, how hard a matter it is to decay the liberty of Germany, and to build their Realme to make it last so great and so long, as the amity betweene these two nations hath endured, for because at this present standing in feare of the French armies, they proceede therein more slackely, and insist not so linely to impose their Spanish yoke: they be they for certaine, which haue obtained peace at the Turkes handes, by prayers and tributes, and who vnder colour of Religion and obedience, haue brought a thousand enormities and factions into Germany, which haue beaten her with her owne rodde, warring against her with her owne power, which haue drawne monie from all, and rendered the condition of Germany into so pious an estate, as may be well seene by the Spanish Garrisons, disposed on the one side and the other, which haue*

The French Embassadors oration.

haue vnfurnished those places of armes where they were kept in store, which haue made open the way to the examination of the treasure, for it is growne to that passe at this day, that the scale of the Empire, and the iudgement of the Chamber, and the right or priuiledge of imperiall dayes, is in the sleue of the B. of Arras, for what meaneth this, to execute by way of iustice, or to bawish in offering great rewardes to the murderers? all those, as for their maintenance, haue put themselves into the wags of strangers; I omit so many murders, so many whordomes, pilseries, and sicknesses of Citties, and above all religion, which now was handled of one sorte, and now of another, accordingly as the time serued. Certes whatsoeuer hath bene done since some yeares passed, hath tended to no other end then to trouble the lawes of the Empire, or constrain or allure King Ferdinand by faire promises, as also to terrifie the Princes by feares and dreads, so the end the Prince of Spaine might be chosen Emperour: were it not rather to be wished by men of valour, to dye then to see the light of the Sunne in such miseries and calamities? I doe not think that any man can be found so blockish or barbarous, that hee doth not feele himselfe galled with these things. Therefore no man ought to maruell, if at the last some Princes haue bene found, and among them the Eleiour Maurice D. of Saxe, which stande resolved to hazard their liues for the recouerie of the liberty of their common Countrie, and which finding themselves too feeble, and not able alone to sustaine the charge, haue demanded succour and alliance of the King of Fraunce, who cleane forgetting any mislikes of the time passed, hath not onely employed thereto all his wealth and treasure, but also hath not spared his owne person in a matter of so great consequence: contracting an alliance with them, wherein among other things there is set downe, that they shall not make any accomde with the enemy, without the Kings good liking: and albeit that Maurice be bound thereunto, yet desiring the prosperitie of the Countrie, and to accomodate himselfe to Ferdinand, which did so earnestly require it, hee very lately besought the most christian King, to signifie vnto him, vnder what conditions hee would haue the peace treated of: that so say the truth fell out otherwise then he hoped for, considering his benefite towards them to haue bene such and so great, that hee thought it fitter to entreate neerer hand, and not so farre off, of matters which so neerely concerned him: neuertheless forasmuch as hee euer preferred the publick weale before his owne particular, hee would deny nothing to a Prince, his ally: wherefore if the soares of the common wealth might be healed as they ought, and that good assurance may be giuen that in time to come they shall not be refreshed, if the Captiue Princes may be released vnder the conditions set downe in the treatie, further if the ancient alliances betweene Fraunce and the Empire, and the last Capitulation with Princes, may be so confirmed, as that for euer they may remaine in force: if these things I say may bee well brought to passe, he is so affectionate to the Common wealth, that not onely he will willingly accord to a treatie of peace, but also yeeldeth humble thanks to God, that herein he hath aided you with counsell, and succours. As touching priuate matters, as the Emperour hath detained from him many things by force, and made warre vpon him without any iust occasion, the King thinketh it a matter very reasonable, that he which hath bene the occasion of the iniury, should firste shewe the way of satisfaction. The King in truth no whit distrusteth at all of his owne power, nor yet of the equitie of his cause, and notwithstanding hee will giue them to vnderstand how much hee loueth peace, and how much hee desireth to agree with them all, and with Maurice.

The Princes answered hereunto, that his discourse set from antiquitie, as concerning the coniunction of Germany and Fraunce, was most agreable vnto them, and no lesse that the King preferred the common wealth before his particular profite, making no refusal to the confederate Princes accomde with the Emperour, for it is not onely the profite of one nation, but of all Europe, which hauing bene turmoyled with

The confederate Princes answered to the French Embassadour.

with ciuill calamities, tended to an euident ruine. As for the conditions which the K. demanded, they doubted not but that they might be obtained, for the Emperour alwaies bare good will towards the common wealth, both heretofore and in these present troubles, he neuer vnderstoode that the libertie of Germany was any waies diminished. There was likewise great hope that in very short space hee would set at libertie the Captiue Princes. As touching the renewing of their ancient alliances, the King well vnderstandeth in his owne wisdom, that a matter of so great weight could not be brought to passe in this assembly: notwithstanding they greatly desired that the amitie which euert had bene betwene the two nations might remaine firme and inuiolable: they likewise desired aboue all the rest, that the differences betwene the King and the Emperour might be pacified, protesting that therein they would neither spare traualle nor diligence whatsoeuer. But forsomuch as the K. said that the Emperour did possesse sundry places which appertained to him, and openly made shew of many which he would repleate, it seemed vnto them a matter very reasonable, that he should declare what they were, for they were determined fully to inuolunte the Emperour thereof, and to be a meane in the cause. Further they besought the King to take the same in good parte. That which the Embassadour spake of the familie of Luxembourg grew vpon this: *Henry* Earle of Luxembourg had a Sonne named *Henry*, who afterwards was the seventh Emperour of that name, hee had a Sonne named *John*, who by marriage was King of Bohemia, and gaue succours to *Philip de Valois* against *Edward* the third King of England, being present himselfe in person at the day of battaile; but there remained hee, for that the Englishmen had the better. Among other he left *Charles* his eldest Sonne, who afterwarde was the fourth Emperour of that name, Father vnto *Wenceslaus* and *Sigismund*, who both came after to be Emperours, and the latter was likewise King of Hungarie and Bohemia, and solicited the counsell of *Constantine*. *Albert* of Austria of whom he spake, was Emperour sonne to *Rouland* the Emperour, who alwaies entertained good amitie with *Philip le Bel* King of Fraunce, albeit that *Boniface* the eight, enflamed him as much as possibly he could to make war. But it is now time to look back to the French.

I haue tolde you how the King of Fraunce being come as farre as Strasbours, with an armie of thirtie thousand men, for the succour of the Protestant Princes against the Emperour, afterwards resolved of his returne, vnderstanding of the Peace concluded betwene the Germanes, had deuised the body of his forces into three partes, to make them to march surdry waies the easier, and with lesse discourte of victuals, and especially to encounter the sooner the Q. of Hungaries army, which she had to the borders of Champagne. This Princesse knowing how the affaires of the Emperour her brother, went but euery hardly by reason of those occasions which I haue made you to vnderstand: and aboue all that this French armie would prete a crosse gride to his interits, determined to retarde the same by such troups as she could leuy throughout the Lowe countries, which would bee in such sorte able to preiudice the realme, as the K. should be enforced to returne for succour of the same, and so hauing solicited *Martin Varnolse*, the bastard and Marshall of Cleues, she caused him to come downe into the duchie of Luxembourg, with 3000. souldiers of Cleues, Valois, and Geldres, assisted with 600. horse, all which being ioyned with Count *Mansfield*, the gouernour of the Duchie, the Baillie of Auant, the Gouernours of Cuiet, & other chieftaines, made vp the number of 12000. Fantalsins, & 3000. horse, with which they determined to enter into Fraunce, and there to doe the worst they should be able; they

took

tooke Satenay vpon the Meuse, by a Lorraine Captaine voluntarie deliuerie thereof, which the Dowager of Lorraine had left there without other Garrison; where suddenly they employed themselves to repaire the breaches, and to restore it into his former estate, building of a bulwark behinde on the side of Dun le chasteau, and a platforme towards La iustice. Now vpon the bruit that they ment to assaile Villefranche, *Bourdillon* went in with seauenteene horse, and the same night made his company of men at armes to enter in, with as many men and prouisions as hee was able, but being aduertised how they changing of their opinion were determined to returne to Moulon, he left *Chastellus* his Lieutenant at Villefranche, issued from one of the antient houses of Burgundie, with such full authoritie as the Queene, and the Admirall D'Anebaut had giuen vnto him to commaund there, and with the rest of his company entred at breake of day into Moulon, where *Roche de Maine* was with his company of men at armes, and the three hundred Fantalsins of the Barons of Cerny, but if the cheefest forte did not agree, much more were the inhabitants perplexed through the feeblenes of the place, commanded by a high mountaine neere vnto it, notwithstanding any rampire which they were able to make to couer it: besides, that the principall of the towne had already trust vp their baggage, *Bourdillon* notwithstanding hauing assured them of the Kings comming at hand, and hauing caused his cobbarde, and other more precious moueables to be brought in, and swearing not to abandon them, they a little assured themselves. The Imperials for all that being saluted with the Cannon shotte of Villefranche, and counselled not to remain there, crept along the riuer, as farre as the village of Brioles, where they burned the Church and the forte, then to Mont-faucon which they burned, and so descended into the plaine, to put men into the Castle of Boulandre, which they took, by stealth getting of victuals and prouisions, which they carried to Satenay: from thence all along the riuer they sacked sundry villages as farre as Grampre, a little Towne vpon Aire, neere Chalons and Atigni, where they rested: and vnderstanding how the Admirall hauing put the Legionaires of Champagne in armes, and vntied the Zuizers with the French men of warre, approached neere; they set fire on Grampre, Boulandre, and other places, to retire themselves to Satenay, where they had intelligence that the light horse of the Kings army who aduanced forward, were already at Luxembourg: an occasion that to retire themselves, they all abandoned it, leauing the most parte of those of Cleues and Geldres, for the assurance of Yuoy, if any should goe about to force it. King *Henry* in the meane time, who heard the complaintes of these miserable Subiectes, the sooner to hasten the reuenge, put out of his armie almost all the sicke persons, and left the baggage vnder the conduct of the Earle of Arraine, and Viscount of Chartres with their companies, and some light horse, and Harquebusers mounted, for the conueying thereof into Metz, or any other place which they should think more assured: afterwarde the discamping of the imperials being known, & the immoderate diligence vsed at the retiring of his troups, the conquest of the duchy of Luxembourg was deliberated of and resolved to annex it vnto the crown, as a proper succession fallé to the house of Vendosme, by the death of the Constable *S. Paul*, true Lord & peaceable possessor thereof, in carrying the name and armes, as the authors of that counsel maintained, albeit that since that time *Charles* Duke of Burgundie had euert usurped the same, the rather for that many neighbours therabouts said that it was the very true refuge of theues and outlawes, therefore did the armie drawe right to the Castle of Roc de Mars, all alongst the Mozelle be-

I 2

tweene

Familie of Luxembourg.

Albert of Austria.

The Q. of Hungary causeth the K. army to returne.

The Imperials army in Luxembourg.

The K. armie aduanced forward.

What place the
army was first to
attempt.

Roc de Mars be-
sieged, battered,
taken & sacked,
by the French.

Deauville repre-
sented, besieged,
battered, and ren-
dered to the K.
discretion

tweene Treues and Theonuille, seated on the steepe of a hyll, strong enough for scituation and fortification, with a little Towne beneath it, vnder the tytle of Viscount. The Castle summoned made refusall, for a number of Gentlemen, Ladyes, and other neighbours of reputation, were retired thither, imagining that the King would first employe his forces against Theonuille, and that at all assaies they might euer be receiued at an honourable composition after the first brunte. But the King contrariwise was counselled to attempte that, in respect of the victuals and prouisions which the armye so much wearyed should there finde, & that the sacking thereof might rather bee giuen to the Souldiers, how Theonuille was too strong and well provided, to bee gorten in so shorte time, which they were not any waies to consume but with assured profite, how thereby they should loose the occasions of executing other thinges, how in the meane time they would fortifie the rest of the places with all commodities: besides how Theonuille stode betweene Merz and that Castle, which they might so repaire, as the Garrison of Theonuille should be blocked in, and their prouisions cleane stopped, which would be a meanes that in the end it should likewise be rendred vp to the French, with lesse charge, lesse losse of time, and lesse hazarde: fixe Cannons were planted on the hill for batterye, two Culuerins battered against the wall, where there was but one grosse square tower for a flanker, and the Portall which serued for another. After betweene the towne and the Castle was dressed a batterye beneath, right against a great Towre and a canton of the wall, so as they within besieged, feeling the shaking of the Towres and walles, were not hard to Parley. But the Souldiers hauing the sacking promised vnto them, fearing least a Parley would cause a voluntary rendring, and neuer tarrying other volley of the Cannons, leapt into the ditches, which were deepe, high, and broad, whereof some clambering vp, others mounting with their Pikes to the wall, while the rest were with wood and fire at the gates, so greatly astonied the besieged, that all retired themselues into Caues, Chambers, Sellers, and other secret places, to shun death, which was euen before their eyes, especially after that some French men hauing found and broken open the gate of a Posterne which went out of the base Courte into the Ditch, had made themselues to be perceiued and feared on all parts, for that as soone as being mounted, they gaue entrie to all the rest, which had no regarde but to throwe downe, rifle, and take all. At such time as the Earle *Ringrane* Collonell of the Germanes, who did not imagine the taking thereof vpon such a foddaine, went to beseeche the King in consideration of all his seruices, to spare vnto him that place, the Lady whereof was his neere Kinswoman, which the King graunted vnto him, commaunding *Coligny* to cause the Souldiers to retire. Afterwards Mont S. Iean, Solieure, and other places were sacked and burned, during the continuall and fresh skirmishes betweene the French and Imperialles before Theonuille, from whence the army being passed Estain, turned face to take againe the way of D'auuille, about which was already the Admirall d'Annebaur, with the Legionaires of Champagne, 4. thousand Suizers, and 200. horse, with which he had already hindred such succors, as *Marcy* gouernour of that place attended from his partakers: it is in a place plaine and fennie, but the hott season dry through the Solstice of the Summer, was so fauourable to the approaches of the French, that two thousand Fantassins, and 3. hundred light horse since named Carabins, nor the Cannon shot could haue hindred the Artillerie from being planted on the toppe of the Castle ditche towards the Medowe, without the batterye from a little hill, offixe Cul-

The K. entry into
Verdun.

uerines, to barre and annoy such defences as it was very ill provided of, albeit it was made at pleasure, to the ende it might bee impregnable: during these approaches, the King made his entrie into Verdun, albeit it was full of the sicke perions of his armye, and after that the Cardinall had feasted him at Dinner within the Bishops Pallace, hee returned to viewe the batterye, which lasted from the fourteenth to the sixteenth of Iune, making two breaches, whereof one was towards the riuer, and the Castle ditche was for all that full of water the height of a Pike, and about that they were faine some to ascende more then a fadome and a halfe: but as the Fanterye presented themselues at the assaulte, those which were within refused of any composition, rendred themselues in the ende to the discretion of the King, which was that the cheefe and principall persons should remaine Prisoners, that the Souldiers should departe with white stickes downe, hauing full liberty to goe whether it pleased them best, the goods should remaine to the Kings vse, which hee afterwards bestowed (the artillerie referued) vpon the Earle of *Coligny* called *Chastillon*, whereat the Souldiers began to murmure, seeing themselues frustrate of the sacke of both those places, being ill apparelled and litle in their purses by reason of their long voyage, and the most parte of them very sicke. The Captaine *Villefranche* one of the cheefest men of marke among the olde bandes had the gouernement, but hauing beene hurte there with a Musket shotte, hee died: and *Le Bruil* a Bourgonian Gentleman, before Lieutenant to *Salsedo*, had his company, and *Rabodanges* the gouernement.

Whilst that the King with promise of honourable entertainment receaued the Prince of Salerna, who greatly grew discontented with the Emperour, the Constable hauing vnderstanding how the Earle *Mansfelde* was gotten into Yuoy, whereof *Strinchant* was Gouernour, sent to blocke him in with two thousand foote, and a number of horse, to hinder any goings forth or entries in: after the rest encamped there, the Earle shewing himselfe a great husband of his prouisions, and causing no sallie to be made forth, which proued not very hurtfull to the French. The Towne is situate at the foote of a Mountaine, and on the other side is a medowe, and a faire spacious plaine, alongst the which runneth La Chesse, a little Riuer which commeth towards D'auuille, swelling greater hard by with many other brookes which fall into it: afterwards it commeth into Meuse neere Sedan. The greatest parte of the Garrison was of Germanes, Cleuiois, and Geldrois, not accustomed to abide great famine nor long thirste, no more then to sustaine other discomforts of such sieges, with the Earls company of 100. men at armes, and 500. horse, as well of the Gentlemen about, was of these Carabins, and Harquebusiers mounted. They very wel pertourmed their duties by ordinary sallies, and right sharp skirmishes to hinder the aproches of the artillerie: but in the end it was planted in 2. places, as neere the brinke of the ditch of Mouson side against a little Canton of a wall, which onely remained of the rampier, the height of 3. fadome and somewhat about, which battered in point blanke. They had set vpon the hill 6. culuerins, which spoiled all the streets and the length of the courtins, right on the backe of the breache, so as those within besieged, not seeing any walke sure for them, without being scarred, and so neere their eares that the heare remained there, lost their courage, and being with one consent assembled vnder the hale and with them the brauest of the companye, albeit that the greatest breach could not holde fiftene men in front, besides their traueses, trenches, traines, chansse traps, fricasses, and other deuices proper for the defence

The Prince of
Salerna quitting
the Emperour
commeth to the
King.

Yuoy and his
representation.
siege, batterye
and yeelding vp
to the K.

fence of a breach: and albeit that the Earle were armed and readye of his charge, declared vnto them their dutie, the vawe and renowe of the Germane nation, with the dishonour and losse as well of life as goods, which would ensue so cowardlye a resolution, would make no other answer, but that if the French did assaile him before, they would dispatch him behinde. In summe, seeing them the farre stronger, and notable but to curse his life, and detest his ill happe, hee set a French Gentleman at libertie, to be a witnesse of his dutie. Afterwardes being retyred with sile teares into his Chamber, *Strinchant* made a Trumpeter goe vpon the side of the trenches to demanda a parle of the Constable, which being graunted, *Strinchant* went out hoping of some aduantageous capitulation, which could be no other then that of *D'auuille*, so the Earle hauing learnedly and eloquently (as hee was very well studied in learning, with the knowledge whereof hee honoured the profession of armes) bewailed his miserie vnto the Constable, was with therest of the cheefe carried to Paris. A notable example said some of the French, for all such as reposing themselves in any prosperitie passed, or in the merite of their owne valour, consider not that the dutie of a Captaine is so inseparably ioyned, to theirs which obey him, that hee ought to stand no lesse assured, and before the blowe come, prouide for the same as well as his owne, except hee would fall into the like inconuenience that this Earle did. All the goods of *Yuoy* which were very great, were giuen vnto the Constable, who distributed the greatest parte vnto his owne companie, and his sonnes *Montmorency*, at which the olde bands openlye mutined, and after that began to breake themselves, and to quit their Ensignes. So the Towne being rendred vp the three and twentieth day of Iune, receaued *Blainem*, afterwards *Hancourt* for Gouverneur. Mommedy (which rendred it selfe life and Iewels saued) had the Captain *Baron* a Parisian, a yong Souldier, but olde enough in warlike experience, with a hundred horse and three Ensignes, *D'auuille*, *Yuoy*, Mommedy, *Luxembourg*; and the most parte of the Duchie, had beene before taken by *Charles D. of Orleans*, third sonne to *Frauncis* the first, and after rendred againe by an agreement betweene the King and the Emperour; but they were not then in so good state, *D'auuille* was as then but a little borough Towne, and since all burned, and after reedified according to the fortifications at this day, with Bulwarkes, Bastions, and platformes of defence, the rampires large and high, and of good holde, the whole newe repayred with walles of good stufte. *Yuoy* was strong, and not taken by assaulte, neither was there any reasonable breache made to enforce it; but the Captaine *Guelphe* hauing inuented, and himselfe made a great quantity of Mortier peeces, which shot exceeding great bullets from the hyll downe, so greatly astonished them, that *Gilles de Leuant*, cheefe for the Emperour yeelded himselfe, life and Iewels, saued with some artillerie.

During the siege of *Yuoy*, the Marshall of *Sedan* heire to the house of *La March*, besought the King that hee would helpe him to recouer his Duchie of *Bouillon*, which hee saide the Emperour vniustly detained from him, at the perswasion of the B. of *Liedge*, who gaue vnto him 4000. men and fise peeces of artillerie, wherewith he battered the castle of *Bouillon*, which was seated vpon a high and steepe rocke, going out of a mountaine, from which it was seperate by a brode ditch and deepe, of an hundred and fiftie pace, in diameter, made by chissell & hammer with long trauell, in the plaine and circumference whereof, the better parte of the Castle is hewen out within the maine Rocke, with like workmanship almost in forme of Ouall, hauing on the

on the dich side a platforme so high, as it almost ouertoppeth one of the Mountains: at the foote whereof is a forme of Calémate well perced, to keepe it from any approaches: on the other end is the Portall which goeth out of euerye side fiftene foote, with lightes to keepe the flankers, and which serue for the platforme, within it is a core of antient building, in forme of a square Paullion, couered with slate, which vnderneath hath his sellers vaulted within the very rock, with an excellent good Well of fourescore fadomme, the Castle is perced to so good purpose, that a Chicken cannot peepe vp in any place, but it will be discouered; furnished with artillerie and all other prouisions for a long season, receiuing but one way vnto it, and that very narrow and painefull, the borough is vnderneath, in time past a faire towne, but so torne asunder by the warres, that it remaineth almost vnhabited. Semoy which commeth towards Mommedy, runneth there with a mighty fall of streame, especially when it swelleth, by reason of the Winter raines and snowes, on the one side it is shadowed with another Mountaine, full of woods and craggie rockes, so sharpe that it is almost vnpossible to dwell there, nor to hurte the Castle on that side, not able to bring any Cannon, the rest of the places are very lowe vallies and dangerous. The Marshall notwithstanding to make his troupes appeare greater then indeede they were, made his companies to passe and repasse many times in one selfe same place, to make it be thought that the whole French armye was there assembled: afterwardes hee planted his peeces vpon the Mountaine, but so vneasily as they were faine to binde them hard with great and huge Cables for feare of tumbling downe, from whence there was not aboue six volleys shotte, hauing onely a little scratte the toppe of the wall with small apparance of any breache, when as the Captaine *Bastard* of the house of *Haurion*, very ancient in that Countie, besought a Parley, and obtained pardon: so as if hee had no succour within three dayes, hee should yeelde vp the place, (life and goods saued) the artillerie and other munitions there referued, and his sonne in hostage. The three dayes being expired, he departed with his Liegers, the Marshall confessing that he had vnderaken this conquest at an aduenture. Likewise the Captaine had his hed afterwardes strooke of, for his so good seruice, *Bouillon* was yeelded vp the very last day of thirtie yeares that the Duchie had beene out of the handes of the right heires, and afterwardes the Marshall easilye recouered all the appendances, and hauing lefte there *Des Auelles* with a good Garrison, hee returned to thank the King for this so great benefite: vpon this the army drawing towardes *Cincts*, and *de Lumes* being dead, the Castle of *Lumes* was deliuered vp to *Vielle-uille*, Lieutenant to the Marshall *S. Andre* by *Merembarque*, who kept the same for the imperials, the fortes whereof were vndermined and throwne downe, no more remaining but the dungeon, which the King gaue with parte of the confiscation of this rebellious vassale to the D. of *Neuers*, and Earle of *Retel*, and the rest to *De Constant* a French gentleman, who had married the Neece true heire of the Lord, the Castle is at the foote of a Mountaine, where the ruer of *Meuse* runneth by it, and on the other side a faire Medowe, halfe a league from *Meziers*, to which it had doone many shrewde turnes, because the Lord pretended certaine rightes, besides that it was a retraite to all lewde persons, an occasion that *Frauncis* the first had there builded a blockhouse, which for all that serued to no purpose by meanes of the euil gouernement thereof. The Lord of which had beene brought vp a Page in the Kinges house, and euer held the French partie, vntill that vpon some spite he changed for the Bourgonion crosse, with which he dyed of the shiuer of a peece which hee tryed: afterwardes the King

The Gouverneur
of a place his
dutie.

Mommedy yeelded
vp.

The first conquest
of Luxembourg
bourg.

De A u i l l e .

Yuoy.

The Marshall of
Sedan heire to
the house of La
March, vnder-
taketh the con-
quest of the du-
chie of Bouil-
lon.

A wile to make
ones troupes
seeme greater
and astonish the
enemy.

Cimetz battered, taken, sacked, and burned by the French.

being determined of his returne, and hauing made the D. of *Ninernois* Gouverneur of Luxembourg, all also furnished Roc de Mars, and the other places with all necessaries, notwithstanding the daily roades of Theonuille, and other imperial places, sent his armye to batter, take, and cut in peeces, all those that were retired into the Castle of Trelon, which was vndermined and raised, as Glaion and other places: and to content the olde Ensignes, the sacke of Cimetz was bestowed on them, a Towne and Castle of the Duke of Ascottes, whither many of the Countrey and of Ardenes were retired, with cheefest goods of valewe: but seeing the batterye, they cleane leste the towne, and ranne into the Castle, the great Tower whereof was no sooner battered downe; but those that were besieged being willing to parley, were knocked downe by the Portail and other places, where they found an entrance to sacke and rife, with so great greedines and indiscretion, as within one of the towre voutes where the Powder lay, were aboute sixe score Souldiers roasted, by meanes of the fire which the kindled matches of some of the Harquebusiers put thereto. After the Towne and Castle was consumed to ashes, which greatly astonied the Bourguinions and other the borderers, which already feared the siege of Auanes, whether the King had indeede caused his armye to marche, had it not bene for the sickenes which day by day encreased among the Souldiers, of whome a good parte were alreadye secretly stolne away, some charged with good booties, some with sicknesse, some with tedious and long paines, and many with blowes more then riches, hard to be endured in warre, although but suddaine and of small continuance, euen of the most hazardous. An occasion that in the end of Iuly, the armye was parted into Garrisons, attending what the Emperour now would vndertake: who much troubled with the Protestant Princes army of Germany, saw him selfe then brought as it were into two extremeties: either to accorde almost whatsoever *Maurice* and his companions would demaund, as well for Religion, as the libertye of Germanye, and so to enter into Fraunce, and reuenge such iniuries as he had receiued by King *Henry*, or else to let him alone at his ease to gaine the Countrey, whereby he might another time enforce the Germanes to submitte themselves to the yoke of his power: notwithstanding whether it were that an iniurye receiued from an equall, seemed vnto him more hard to be abidden, then the offence of an inferiour; and one especially bound with a kinde of dutie of subiection, or whether hee thought himselfe in better readines against the French, or whether (as some say) that his hatred conceaued against King *Henry*, did more pafionate him, then against any other Prince; the Emperour resolued himselfe of a peace with Germany, as it were to espouse a warre with Fraunce, by such meanes as I will deliuer vnto you.

The principall demands of Maurice.

Maurice stood principally vpon two pointes, besides the deliuerie of the *Landgrau*; the one, that *Ferdinand* with *Maximilian* his Sonne, and the commissioners, might from thence take notice of such matters as were hurtefull to the libertye of Germanye, and iudge thereof according to the ancient custome of Germanye: the other, that Religion should be let alone in peace, and no harme in respect thereof to any man in the Worlde, vntill the difference might be decided. The Commissioners allowed of this forme, but the Emperour shewed what hee desired and iudged fitt, how it was reasonable that such as had ever remained loyall towards him, and thereby greatly fallen into calamities, might receiue recompence for their losses. After long debating and some articles eased, it was concluded that the Emperour should giue his full answer by the third of Iulye, and that in the meane time there should bee a

truce

truce and cessation of armes: The Commissioners then sent their letters to the Emperour the 26. of Iune, to exhorte him to a peace. Afterwards the French Embassadour being pressed to deliuer the occasions of his Maisters discontentment, and vnder what conditions he would enter into a peace: hauing receaued newes from his Master, answered, that the King had not vndertaken this warre in respect of his own particular, but to succour Germany so farre going to decay: as touching the conditions of peace, it was not the custome of the Kings of Fraunce to demaund it as became themselves in all respects: therefore he did not thinke he had any cause to propose ought, without an assured hope of obtaining the same: especiallye considering that the Emperour had most vniustly made warre against him, while he marched for their succours, notwithstanding he would quit much for a peace, so as he might see it generall, and refused not but that they might take kuowledge, and determine of these differents, to which if *Charles* would not doe reason, he protested the fault should onely light of his necke, for all the miseries which might ensue thereon.

The French Embassadors answered to the Commissioners for peace.

In summe, that these Princes perceiuing the delaies of the Emperour, had no sooner besieged Francforte, where was a great Garrison of the Emperours, but by the aduise of the most parte of the Princes of Germanye, the peace was concluded the last of Iulye 1552. See the occasions which draue the one and the other to conclude the same. Among other reasons the great danger was laide before *Maurice*, which he should stand in, as well on the Emperours side which had alreadye prepared a great armie, as of his Cousins behalfe *Jean Frederic*, whom the Emperour meant to send home free into his Countrey. The Emperour likewise stode in feare of the force of the Germanes and of the French. The *Landgraues* sonne for the long detention of his Father. Among other articles the Captiue Princes were to be set at libertie, no disquiet for their Religion, which they would aduise of at the first assembly; within sixe moneths the King of Fraunce was to declare vnto *Maurice* his

Peace throughout Germany, and the occasions thereof.

demands: *Albert* was comprehended therein if he layde downe armes. The King misliked with the whole course, yet hee sent back the Hostages, and *Maurice* his: to wit, the Earle of Nanteuil, and Iametz.



The Historie of Fraunce.

THE SECOND BOOKE.



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wards the Mar-
quesse his armie.

well for the opinion of his valour, as the credit and reputation which hee had in all those Countries) for the entertaining of his armye, who to take from him all occasion of discontentment vpon any refusal (albeit it had bene reasonable) did his best to helpe him with some for certaine dayes, which notwithstanding being otherwise considered of by him, he ceased not to importunate him from day to day, to yeelde the same vnto him in as great an abundance as if there had bene no question but of taking all at his own pleasure, without any regarde to the future necessitie, nor to the place where this Prince was ordained, the time of his keeping thereof: being altogether vncertaine. In summe, that he so hardly pressed him and so often, that hee was constrained to declare vnto him by *Pierre Strossi*, how the reason of the warre which hee was not ignorant of, permitted not that one should disfigure a place of guard, (chiefely of such importance of Metz) of victuals and prouisions whereof it should be furnished, to distribute them to a Campe, which might be master of the field, and follow any other way or Country, as towards Sallines, a most fertile Countie, wherein he should not onely finde all commodities: but in eating and consuming thereof, he should the more disadvantage the enemye, in not being able to recouer the like there. At which seeming to content himselfe, he demanded some guide, which knew the Country, and might conduct him and lead him thither: whereto was ordained by the Duke of Guise, and expressly sent from Metz, one *Gaspard de Hus*, a native Gentleman of Metz: notwithstanding in very short space he changed his minde, for instead of taking the way towards Sallines, hee came the more neerer within one league to Metz, and encamped in a place called Aey, where he made some stay, vying all the scales which he could imagine, for vnder colour to gaine the good grace of the Emperour by some remarkable seruice, entiling the Duke of Guise to giue him some traueses, or to trouble him by some disorder, had not the Prudence of that Prince bene so great as to foresee and remedy the same. Then hauing by diuers remoues trauesed all that Countie, and being turned towards Treues, to fetch there a number of Souldiers which he had left there, he came downe to Pont Camousson, neuer hauing for all that resolued any thing with the Duke of Bayonne, either of his own appointment, or pay of his people: albeit that the King had againe sent back *Loys* vnto him for the very same cause, notwithstanding he could conclude vpon nothing with him, training alwaies the effect in diuersitie of demaundes, coloured with faire wordes, whereon it was a very vncasie matter to laye any foundation, and therefore they entred into the greater suspicion of him, so as the first mistrust began to increase more then before: wherefore with as much speed as might be the King who hauing knowne the Emperours intents and preparatiues, had alreadye caused all his Garri- sons, bandes and arriere bandes, and other new companies, to repaire vnto Champagne, made his Campe to assemble at S. Michel, a little towne of Lorraine, vpon the riuer of Meuse, sixe leagues on the side of Pont Camousson, as farre from Verdun, and ten long ones from Metz, whether likewise repaired the Constable, the Duke of Neuers, the Earle of Anguien, the Prince of Conde, the Earle of Aumale, the Vice-count of Rohan, the Marshall *S. Andre, Chastillon* generall of the French Fanterie, the Earle of Villars, *Bowdillon* then ordained Marshall of the Campe, the Earle *Reingraue*, and *Reiroc*, with their Regiments of Lanquenets, and sundrye other great Lords and Captains.

The French ar-
mie assembled
with all diligence
at S. Michael, a
little towne of
Lorraine.

The Imperiall
army at Deux-
ponts scattered
ouer the Coun-
try of Vaulges.

As touching the Imperiall armie, it was altogether readie, and grew great by view of the eye, hauing so farre already marched, as being arrived at Deux ponts, it extended it selfe throughout all the Countie of Vaulges, in sorte that it was very requisite to lodge

lodge, and cause to enter into Metz all such succours, as well of men, of artillerie, and other munition, as had bene determined to be sent thither, and therefore the most commodiously that hee was able, the Constable sent from Saint Michael the companies of horse and foote which were ordained to this purpose vnder the charge and conduct of *Horace Farnese* Duke of Castres, carrying with him a number of pioners, and store of powder, for the better strengthening of the towne, though not in so great quantitie, for all that, as the Constable could haue wished, and as hee had done, without the feare he had of the Marquesse, who was alwayes at Pont Camousson, his men being ouer the plaine Country round about, giuen to all insolencies of warre, pilling, & leauing not ought but what they made no account of, or could not carrie or beare away. The which was found very strange, and greatly augmented the distrust which might be had of him. Notwithstanding to bring him to some reason, they sent vnto him the Duke of Aumalle, de Chastillon, and the Earle of Reingraue, to praye him to cause his people to leaue of their wasting and spoiling of the Countie: and finally to resolue with him the last accord of his appointment and paye of men. Then they soone inough discovered what had bin before conceiued of him but as it were in a cloud, rendering so ambiguous & haughtie an answer, with a spitefull and malecontent iecture, that he demanded almost the moitie of a kings ranfome for appointment. And as touching the order of his mens liuing, hee shewed that he had alreadye settled his affaires, answering in the end with an assured resolution, that he was a friend to the king, and an allie to the house of Lorraine, but hee meant that his souldiers should haue wherewithall to liue, and take it where they could find it, in case of refusal, he was resolued what he had to do, and whether to retire himselfe: yea, so far, as refusing to receiue such monie as the Constable had sent vnto him. Whereby they well perceiued how he was reconciled to the Emperour, by the practise of some. Who perceiuing that he was out of his reach for doing him any harme, and that he had himselfe great need of people, pardoned him all his faults, and forbad that any should make his pro- cesse in respect of the warre passed: ratified the contracts made with the Duke of Bamberg and Wicibourg, released him of going to the war in Hungary, yea, so farre as to agree with him the more, he pardoned the Earles of Itigen, both father and son, & *Albert de Mansfeld* and his children. Now the Emperour lying sicke of his gouts, and as well for this cause, as for the importunitie of the time, his armie sojourning in the countie of Vaulges, with as great diligence as was possible, they placed againe the French army at S. Michel, strengthened it as well with the French Fanterie, Germans & Zuizers, to the number neere hand of 30000. footmen, and betwene seuen and eight thousand horse: wherefore the French began to hope better then euer, so as the aduise of some was to charge vpon the Marques whilest that the greater armie of the enemye was so far off, the meanes were the gallantnes of the French armie, the discontentment of the Marquesses people, not able besides to make anie retrain into anie place, wherein they should not be pursued as enemies for their insolencies passed, present, & to come. Other preuailed in councell, which perswaded that it would be better to goe more covertly to worke, and vnderhand to withdraw the better part of his captains & souldiers, by meanes of such Germanes as were alreadye come to the kings seruice, with assurance of redie paie & good intertainment to come. Which was so wel handled, that with a great mutiny hapned between themselves, the colonell *Reif-berg* with his regiment, accepted from thence forward of the French party. Wherat the marques being extremely despised, and seeing otherwise how the armie of France, which euery day was mightily increased, grew neere neighbor vnto him: how alreadie men murmured

The Marques
Alberts armie
verie dissolute
about Pont Ca-
mousson.

The last answer
or resolution of
the marques to
the French, and
the behaviour of
his armie.

Colonell Reif-
berg with a regi-
ment of the mar-
ques Alberts, re-
treath himselfe to
the kings seruice

The Marques dem
in death passport
to returne.

agaynst him, and how his souldiers mutined among themselves, whereof many both couertly and in sight were retired to the French, and how through all these accidents he was in danger to be surpris'd and inclosed, hee certified the Constable, howe that since it pleased not the King to entertaine him into his seruice, not willing to accorde vnto him reasonable appoyntment and paie, his request was to haue a safe conduct to depart, protesting that in other places of his enemies Countrey, he was able to doo vnto him as good or better seruice as there, and could conquere landes, which might perpetually remaine vnto him without sticking at a trifle: assuring him notwithstanding vpon his faith, neuer to take parte wyth the Emperour agaynst him. The King beinge aduertised heereof, and the matter thoroughly debated of in Councell, grew of opinion howe it was much more expedient, to make a bridge to a mans enemy, seeking to retire, than to put armes into the furnace to heate him anie more, as well to assure the people of the violent comming of the man, seeking nought but his owne aduantage wythout respect of his lyfe, as also honestly to conuioie and conduct him, for in beinge willing to fight with him by strong hande, albeit that fortune were fauourable, yet could not the victorie remayne but wyth great losse, peradventure of many braue men, whereof the King as then stood in great neede, a farre greater enemy beinge at hande than the other, as also to the ende it might not bee reproached vnto him to haue defeated one which came to his succours, especially a Germane, one of the most auncient friendes and confederates of the French. To this end was the Bishoppe of Bayonne lesse neere about him for his better surtie and conduct, to cause him to haue a safe and free passage throughout all the Kinges Countreies. Of the other parte the Duke of Aumalle was appoynted to accompanie him with two hundred men at armes, and five hundred light horse, to hinder anie of his men from spoyling or ruining anie of the kings subiects. For during the three weekes that *Albert* made his abode neere de Thoul vpon Mozelle, they vnderstood of so straunge disorder, and most excessiue excesses, which his people dyd as well to the Nobles, as pefants and church men, that in the ende perceiuing howe the Duke of Aumalle, to whome they addressed themselves, tolde them that hee was not able to haue anie other reason at his handes, albeit hee had certified him thereof, they assembled themselves to kil and trusse vp as many as they were able. Whereof he greatly complained to the Duke, who answered him that hee would haue regarde to his dutie, leauing him the passage free, but hee had gone agaynst his worde in permitting so great an insolencie. Constrayned in the ende to displace, hee went and incamped neere vnto a poole vpon a marish, where in the night it rayned so harde, as hee thought hee should neuer haue founde meanes to escape thence, especiallye his Artillerie sticking fast in the myre, and bemoyled euen to the verie axilltree and truckes of the carriages, where the Duke of Aumalle had fayre meanes to haue cleane ruyned him, wythout the losse of anie one man, had hee bene so disposed to haue done.

Aduice & coun-
sell among the
Emperours Cap-
taines, if they
ought to besiege
Metz at that
time of the yere.

October was now well spent, when the imperiall armie as yet remained in the Countrey of Vaulges, and towards Deuxponts, the Emperour still continuing very ill disposed, as also for that hee attended succours out of the Low Countreies, which were not as yet arriued, and his artillerie and munition which hee caused to bee brought downe the Rhine as farre as Confluence, from thence the easier all along the riuer of Moselle, to make it bee landed almost harde by Metz. And for that the sharpest coldes of the winter beginne in this season, such a delaie caused a number of persons to bee of opinion, that the Emperour would not so late vndertake a siege

a siege of so great consequence, and that he would not expose so fayre and well compleat an armie, to thinke to vanquish both the rigor of the time, and a Towne so well provided, as all the Captaines imagined: who councelled him rather to assaie the recouerie of the rest of the townes, as wel of the Dutchie of Lorraine, as of Barois and Luxembourgh, in which hee might well cause his armie to winter, and keepe it couered from the euill season, in which meane time they of Metz should bee constrayned to spend their victuals, and consume their munitions, beinge continually notwithstanding held in subiection by such roads as the souldiers should dayly make vpon them, and the Countrey about more and more to affeble them, and cleane take awaie all meanes from them to recouer victualles; whereof towards the spring they would stande in so great necessitie, as they might then easily set vpon them to their greater aduantage. Shewing further, how that before he cold wel dispose and appoint the siege of this so great a towne, and that his artillerie could be planted and prepared for the batterie, winter would so hardly bee come on, that it would be a cause of interrupting all his meanes, as well by reason of snowes, windes, raines, and extreame frosts, causing a great number of his souldiers to die, as through the difficultie which they should haue to recouer victuals, beinge detayned and stayed backe by the constraint and indisposition of the time, as also in hauing them oftentimes bee met with, and taken awaie by the French. Besides all that, together with the losse that myght fortune him to receiue there, such and so great a shame, as hee would rather wish it had cost him the crowne of his Empire, so as hee had not bene at all there. For after hauing combatted, and bene in part defeated by the furie and violence of the time, he should finde besides another enemy strong and puissant, which attended but onely an occasion to ruine him for euer. This aduice though it were the most certayne for the Emperours securitie, yet could it not by anie meanes bee receiued of him, for his spirite beinge pricked forward and solicited by an extreame desire of beinge reuenged, forgot all accidents and perils, to bee happily resolu'd in the end of one onely point, whereby hee might knowe but how to bee reuenged of the King. And among others it seemed best vnto him, first to adresse himselfe to the towne of Metz, within which hee well knew were many of the principall Princes and great Lords of France: and that besides, it was perfectly furnished and provided with great store of munition. Wherefore it seemed vnto him, that if by the surplus of the rest of that yere, hee could worke so wel, as to be able only to recouer it, hee might easily by meanes of such prisoners as he should find therein, obtaine and get againe at the kings hands whatsoever he had taken from him, perswading himselfe that he would help himself with the French mens owne rodde and preparatiues to constrain them therto, and that beinge come once to the top, and hauing subdued this first and principall fortres, wherein was the verie flower of the French souldiers, hee easily promised to himselfe the compasing of his lesser enterprises. So as in the end the Emperour marched with his armie towards the riuer of Moelle, neuer following for all that the right waie, as if hee had meant to descend towards Theonuille, and the Dutchie of Luxembourgh. Whereof the Duke of Guise beinge aduertised, not willing to loose or leaue in praye one of the olde Ensignes of Captaine *La Prade*, which was within Roc de Mars, tooke so good order, as in the sight of his enemies, the rather by the meanes of a skirmish which the Duke of Nemours, and the Earle of La Roche-foucault made before Theonuille, the Ensigne hauing set all the Castle on fire, was retyred and saued, together wyth the better part of the Artillerie which was therein.

The Constable in the meane time who still remained at S. Michel to see and know what course the Emperour ment to take, hauing intelligence how the imperiall armye marched, holding on that way, doubting the euent of sundrye thinges, among other, least leauing of Metz, it might adiresse it selfe to Verdun, which was not strong enough, nor almost of any reasonable defence, or to some feeble towne or vnprovided, caused the French armie in like sorte to march, and approched nere vnto Verdun, in which as then the Marshall *S. Andre* remained Lieutenant for the King, with his company of one hundred men at armes, and *Tauannes* which was gouernor with his company of fiftie men at armes, and eight Ensignes of French Fanterie, of the legion of Champagne, two companies of light horse, and as many Harquebusiers on horseback, who without ceasing either day or night, caused them to trauaile about the fortification, replenishing otherwise this great Towne, with corne, wines, and all other sortes of victuals, which they could finde round about. As much did *Rabaudanges* Gouernour of D'Anuille, and *De Blaneau* then Gouernour of Yuoy, and the Captain *Baron* Gouernour of Mommedy, struing as it were with a kinde of enuie, and forcing themselues who should best better his place; for albeit that they were already strong and well appointed, yet did they continually warch to aduance thereto whatsoeuer they might presume to be wanting therein. Now there rested no more but the towne of Satenay, by corrupt speech called Astenay: which the Imperials being already in the field, men doubted might be first assaulted and taken on the suddain, vnprovided of euery thing, as indeed it was: albeit that before time the late King *Francis* had caused it to be repaired and fortified; so serue him for some shadow or colour, against the of the duchie of Luxembourg: since notwithstanding the euill scituation thereof hauing bene declared vnto him, and how much more hurtfull it would grow vnto him, if after hauing fortified it, it should happen to fall into the enemies hand, he caused the fortes and bulwarkes in many places to be cast down and rased, and the flankers and defences to be ruined; putting it againe in this sorte to the domanic of the Duke of Lorraine, sometime after notwithstanding the King hauing againe recouered it, and thrust out the Bourgonians which had sealed therof, and began to repaire it as you haue scene, to aide themselues against him, euer since helde it in his owne handes, without adding for all that any new fortification, but onely to hinder that it should not be hurtfull vnto himselfe. Heereupon afterwarde hauing bene shewed vnto him by the D. of Neuers, how it might be made strong & defensible, and that himselfe without any danger would vndertake to keep it, he commanded that all means and deuises should be fought out to fortifie it with al diligence: to which this Prince voluntarily rendred himselfe so subiect, that any great labour seemed to him but a pleasure, for the perfecting of his work, which he had in so great recommendation, that much and the principal part therof was found wel forward before euer it was imagined that the foundations were as yet laid; & not only that, but hauing intelligence how in a little town named Vireton within 5. leagues of Satenay, there were a number of theues & bannished persons assembled, liuing vpon nothing but theft & spoiles, which they made about the country, forseeing further that if the siege shuld fortune to come before Satenay, that this receptacle of brigands would serue very fitly to his enemies, to retire thither their victual, munitions & other necessaries, hee surprised them so fortunately, as in a morning before that euer they could haue thought him awake, hauing no means to saue theselues, or to haue reskew from their partners, they sawe themselues enclosed and enwrapped by this Prince, accompanied with ten Ensignes of French Fanterie: to wit, two of Verdun, two of D'auuille, 2. of Yuoy,

Vireton surprised and besieged through the secret and great diligence of the D. of Neuers.

of Yuoy, two of Mommedy, and two of Satenay, of Caualerie of the companies of the Duke of Bouillon, of Iametz, and of La Roche du Maine, of light horse and Harquebusiers on horseback, of Captaine *Sapoigne*, and sundrye Gentlemen of his owne house, so as being arriued before this towne in this sorte, to the end readlye to execute his determination, he caused it to be battered as suddenly as might be, without giuing any leasure at all to make any trench, or dresse any baskets of earth, but the artillery being onely couered with Cartes, Tables, dores, Waggones, and such geare, as at that instant they were able to finde to put before it, he so planted it and cunningly trauerfed it to the marke, that the wall was greatlye shaken, and a very reasonable breach made; the which they within endured without any semblance at all of feare, or willingnes to yeelde themselues. The French Souldiers seeing the gappe, had so burning a desire to goe to the assault, as being impatient of temporising, and without tarrying for the Generals commaundement *La Chesne* Ensigne to Captaine *La Land*, followed with some number of Souldiers, ranne hastilye into the ditche with his head forwards, to thrust right into the breach, who notwithstanding was valiantlye put back by the Bourgonions, and sore hurt, whereof afterwarde hee died. *Arbelay* likewise the Ensigne of Captain *Baron* was there slaine, and many valiant Souldiers. In the end they within besieged, seeing the rest of the preparations, and not finding themselues provided, nor strong enough to sustaine a generall assaulte, made a signe of being desirous to parley, requiring that some respite might be giuen vnto the within, who if they had not readily succours, promised to yeelde themselues, their liues and goods saued. The Duke of Neuers would by no means accord vnto them one onely howre of delay, but answered that if they did not yeelde themselues at the instant vnto his discretion, their liues saued, he would cause them al to passe by the edge of the sword; so as hauing a while considered of the danger, they yeelded themselues to the mercy and discretion of the Duke, which happened in very good time, for there remained no more but two bullets of a Culuerin left: they being gone out, to the end no leasure should be giuen to the French souldiers to amuse about the spoile, fire was put in diuers places of the Towne: as for the Prisonners the Duke of Neuers had alreadye giuen them leaue to departe, when as they were as well known vnto the Captaine *Sapoigne* their neighbour, Sonne to *Gilles de Leuant* sometimes gouernour of Luxembourg, against whom *Sapoigne* declared vnto the Duke, that the honestest man among them all had one hundred times deserued death, and how hee should shew them too much fauour to saue their liues, for if he should set the at liberty, it would be a means to make them do more harme to the French: Therefore the greatest part of them were retained and carried prisonners to Satenay, afterwarde some were sent backe, the principall being reserued, chiefly the Captain *Dalumont* otherwise *Malladerie*, and his ensigne named *Arbonniere*: all these matters being thus happely atchieued in one onely day, the armie returned the same very night to lodge at Satenay with all the companies, except those of Mommedy, who in respect they wereneere hand retired as then from the place, comandement being giuen, that they should dayly repaire thither by hundreds, to make euen with the ground the rest of Vireton, which the fire was not able to waste or consume, and on the next morrowe hauing dispatched *S. Simon* to carry newes vnto the K. who continually remained at Reims, and comanded *Despotz* Gouernour of Satenay, to receaue of the inhabitants within the town, the oath of fidelity in the K. name, he departed towards the costable, who caused the armye to temporise, attending what the Emperour would attempt,

K 2

who

Vireton rendred vnto the discretion and mercy of the D. of Neuers.

who finding all his forces assembled, and the succours which he attended out of the low Countries being arrived, took the high way againe towards Metz, and was approached as farre as Sarabuc, seven leagues from thence: and a few dayes after the D. of Alua, Lieutenant generall of the Emperour, and the Marquesse of Marignan Colonnell of the Italian Fantassins, with fourteene thousand foote, foure thousand horse, and sixe fiede peece, approached so neere as to discover the Towne, and the fittest places for to pitch their Campe in, which was not doone without a furious and braueskirmish of the French souldiers, who being sallied forth, for a beginning made them well to perceiue and feele with what affection they were determined to defend themselves, and maintaine the place, wherein the French as then attained great reputation as well of the Duke of Guise as of their enemies: who afterwarde retired themselves to S. Barbe, two leagues back, with small aduantage, and losse of neere hand eight or nine score men, and of French men there was lost *Marigny Picard*, issued out of the auncient and most renowned house of Salezart, and hue Souldiers which were slaine on the place, *Silly Mompha* and the Captaine *La Vauze*, dyed there of their wounds.

In the meane time the D. of Aumalle standing well assured of all the plattes and sollicitings which they practised with the Marquesse *Albert*, aduertised the K. thereof who was at Reims, to the end to prouide of all sides, as wel on that part as towards Picardie, certifying him that the most expedient way was rather to let vpon him, the to suffer him to ioyne with the enemy, and so to make him the stronger, and to bring that to passe, he let him to vnderstand that with such meanes as hee already had two hundred men at armes, would be sufficient to defeate him. The King made answere that hee liked his deuice very well, prouided that it were wisely executed, and without too much hazard, and presently hee commaunded *Bourdillon* to goe and ioyne with him with a hundred men at armes, and obey him wherein soeuer for his seruice hee would imploye him: whereupon hee came towards him within three leagues, neere ynto which place, hee readily aduertised him how by the Kings commaundement, with all possible diligence he had made his repaire towards him, to obey him, beseeching him to signifie his pleasure, and what he was to doe. The D. of Aumalle answered him that he was maruelously contented at his so great diligence vsed, and that the Marquesse hauing already passed ouer the riuer of Muze, was ready likewise to goe ouer the other of Madon, to retire himselfe to the Emperours Campe, and he knew not any great means how to follow him any longer: wherefore in breefe he determined to retire himselfe to Thoul, to make warre against the enemy. This answer was the cause that *Bourdillon* stirred not from Blanieau attending his returne. Three daies after notwithstanding the D. of Aumalle sent his Trumpetter with letters to the Marquesse, to suck alwaies some intelligence from him: but so it was as finding him at the borough of S. Nicolas, whether he was gone with a small company to conclude with the Emperours Deputies, making small account of those letters, the Trumpetter was slaine, to the end that readily returning hee might not discover the secret, nor make reporte of what he had seene: who maruelling greatly at this strange entertainment, went to the Marquesses truchman for it was tolde him that hee had bene brought vpon in Fraunce, thinking by that meanes that hee would haue carried some good affection to haue pleased those of that Nation, whence he had receaued all kinde of curtesie, but contrariwise hee found him a braue and presumptuous Gallant, who iudged himselfe of the highest valour, by reason of the familiaritie which he had with his Master. The Trumpetter besought him to procure his

The Imperial
armie app.
cheer within 7.
or 8 leagues of
Metz.

The D. of Alua
and Marquesse of
Marignan came
to deiey Metz.

The D. of Aumalle
aduertised the
K. upon the
determination
of the Mar-
quesse of Bran-
deburg.

The D. de Auma-
les trumpetter
slained by the
Marquesse *Al-
bert*.

his dispatch and returne. He contrariwise without making any answere at al to his request, railed extreemely at the French, and wishing vnto them a thousand curies, he protested with great oaths, that before it were long he would bathe himselfe in their blood. So the Trumpetter was enforced to tarry vntill the Thursday before the day wherein the defeate should be accomplished, as they tolde him, and how that the morrowe after he should returne with his answere: which came not to passe for all that: for that day all things being changed to the worse, the Trumpetter was more rigorously entreated then before, led, bound fast, wrong hard, and trained, as if how-erlye hee expected nought else then to be hanged or dye miserably. Thus the Marquesse had determined the next morrowe to take his way to the Emperours Camp, and there rested nothing but to vnite and appease some of his Captains & Souldiers, who had no great minde to turne their face to take oath to the Emperour, in respect of the euill entertainment which they had found both at his hands and the Spaniards, in the wars passed. The 28. of October the D. d'Aumalle being enformed of this departure, dislodged at the break of day, with al his Caualerie from the Port of S. Vincent, where he lay, and put himselfe in battell vpon the toppe of an high mountaine called *La Croiz du Montier*, about the Marquesse, to consider well and viewe what he would doe, and what course he would take; who in like sorte ordered his batailles to follow his intended way, without hauing any opinion at that daye to fight with the French: yet these two armies were not long time neighbours, but that the skirmishes began hottely, as well by the Countrie people as some French Souldiers, who were runne thither hoping to robbe and spoile some bootie at the taile of the Marquesse. To whom reporte thereof was made two or three times before hee would beleue ought, answering that the D. d'Aumalle did not make search after him. It was about the beginning of Nouember that these plaintes redoubling of all partes, himselfe with his truchman, would needs goe see how true indeede it was, where hee was very fiercely repulsed, so as with a Harquebuse shot his truchman was slaine hard by him, which moued him in such sorte, as returning to his people, and with liuelye and affectionate praiers and exclamations, hauing declared vnto them, how the D. d'Aumalle with a great number of French Caualerie, attended them in the passage to hew them in peece, and that the least that could befall them was death, which they could by no meanes escape without doing some notable and great exploit, hee vsed all paines and meanes to encourage them to the Combate, laying down before them in like sorte, that if they had any doubt of the rigour and punishment of the Emperour, they were much lesse to hope or looke for any better entertainment of the French. All these perswasions could no whit for all that moue the Fanterie of *Albert*, who mutining for want of pay, refused so goe any further; but well the Caualerie, especially the chieftanes, and aboute all, *George* of the noble familie of *Lichtebergh*, who was as in the Protestants war his Lieutenant generall: the which fiercely went to charge vpon the companies of the D. d'Aumalle, who was vpon the point and determination to retire, albeit that the B. of Bayonne egged him forward to the defeate of the Marquesse: but it was so late that they were already at hand to ioyne together, and to fight with so extreme euill lucke, as at the first reencounter they mette with a troupe of seruants, who had bene set in that place but to make a shew, whome they incontinently put to flight: and by and by charged vpon an other squadron of light horse, and Harquebusiers on horseback, the which in like sorte they disordered, finding an onnerture without fight to charge vpon the very ranks of the men of warre, which they set vpon and caused to recoyle with Pistoll shotte, as troupes and companies

The courageous
perswasions of
the Marquesse to
make his people
to fight.

The D. de Aumalle and the
French charged
vpon fiercely.

The D. companies
put to flight
by the Mar-
quesse.

panies euil prouided of Lances to defend themselves. The D. of Aumalle seeing his caualerie thus broken, and fled on all hands, greatly agreed, and foreseeing an vnhappy end to ensue this enterprife, willed *Breze* the Lieutenant of his company to retire, and the best way that he might be able to saue his company. Afterwards notwithstanding seeing the great fire kindled neere vnto him, and the enemies much intermingled with the principall troupe of his men of war, and neerest to his person, where the cōbate was most sharp, and the enemies courageously reskued, by the small nūber which was there of gentlemen, he ioyned him together with those few that he had left, crying vnto them with a smiling and assured countenance; my ompanions, my freends, Bataile, Bataile, afterwards abandoning himselfe to fortune, which hee had euer notwithstanding so ill cheered, and entertained vntill then, without respect of his life, with the Sword in his fist he thrust into the presse, and did as many great actes as was possible for him to doe; but the throng of his enemies continually waxed greater, and the number of his owne diminished, as well by being abandoned by those which fled, as by the death of the brauest men slaine and beaten downe before him, other fore wounded, and vnhorfed, taken, & led away prisoners: in such sort as himselfe fore hurt with two Pistoll shot in the body, and in his head, the horse slayne vnder him, was in the end thrown down & taken. The B. of Bayonne saued himself, the Vicecount of Rohan was there slaine, for as 2. Germanes which hel'd him prisoner had already taken from him his head peece, quarrelling who should haue him, arruied a third, who after many disputes shot him into the brayne with a Pistoll, whereof he presently dyed. He was greatly lamented of all men, as one who greatly contraried, and withstood stiffly this enterprife: the company of D. D'aumalle was almost all there defeated, and among other of renowne were slaine *De Nancy* guidon of the saide company; *De la Motie Dufseau* guidon of the Vidame of *Charstres* companie, the guidon of the Earle of *Sancerres* company, *S. Forgeus* Capitaine of the light horse, the Baron of *Couches*, *De Toncy* the yongest of the house of *Rochebaron* in *Charollois*, the yong *Vaux*, and sundry other Gentlemen to the number of two hundred, of Prisonners remained many, together with the D. D'aumalle, among other *Desguilly* master of the Camp of light horse, the Baron of *Guerres*, and *De* lieutenant of the Vidame of *Charstres* company, who for not being known, and by the helpe of their freends, escaped for a small raunsome. As for *Bourdillon* the same night some speeches hauing bene reported vnto him, which the paifans comming from thence vsed touching the defeate, presently caused a Gentleman of his company to mount on horseback, accompanied with some other to goe learne the matter better, and bring him the certainty thereof: afterwards within a short space following two Gentlemen of qualitie, which were hardly escaped thence, rehearsed vnto him how all the matter passed. Vpon this occasion, without making any greater losse, or causing more trauaile to his men, he dispatched that night *Castellus* lieutenant of his company, to carry the sorrowfull newes to the King: and presently sent his Trumpeeter, to the Earle of *Vaudemont*, to pray him to permit the bodies of *Rohan* and the Baron of *Couches*, to be buried within the Church at *Nancy*, as they were afterwards, and others in like sorte.

The Marquesse *Albert* hauing now his hart puffed vp, and receaued farre into the Emperours good grace, tooke againe his waye on towardes *Nancy*; where hee had much speech with the Earle *Vaudemont*, touching this defeate, for amidst his discourses and pleasant tales, hee laughed at the great hardines of the D. D'aumalle. Afterwards

The D. de Aumalle fore hurt taken Prisoner.

Death of Vice-count Rohan.

wards he returned to encamp at *Pont Camoufon* on the other side of the riuer, whether anon the Emperour sent vnto him a number of horse to strengthen & aide him, vntill he might be ioyned to his campe, which was already assembled, and encamped about *Metz*. A litle about the *Pont aux Moras* within the vynes, neere vnto an Abbey dedicated to *S. Martin*, was the quarter where the 13. of Nouember the Marquesse *Albert* went to entrench himselfe, from whence hauing caused the D. of Aumalle to be dressed, he sent him prisoner into Germany to be kept in good surtie. The Kings army was arriued at *Clermont* in *Argonne*, a litle village well situated in the country of *Barrois*, about which on the top of a mountaine, is a Castle naturally strong in respect of the height, vnaccessable in two or 3. places; the which being very commodious and conuenient for many necessities, *Chastillon* partlye by craft, and partly through feare which the captaine of the place had, seeing the French army to arriue, surprised and rendred it to the disposition of the Constable his Vncle, for the K. afterwards men wrought a long time to fortifie and amend it better, and an other litle towne named *Varenne*, and in the villages round about all couertly was the K. army lodged; the Constable, (the D. of *Neuers* remaining Lieutenant general in the armie) departed thence, to goe see the K. at *Reims*, very sorrye and greeued at this euill aduenture.

As these were eagerly in armes there in *Lorraine*, so the rest would not be at rest in *Pickardie*, for *Du Reux* the Emperours Lieutenant generall in the low Countryes, with a number of *Flemings*, *Hannuyers*, and *Wallons*, amounting to fortie Ensignes of foote, and about two or three thousand horse, hauing entred into the field with resolution to enforce and surprise *La fere* in *Picardie*, which appertaineth to the D. of *Vendosme*, and after finding that hardly hee could compasse it with his honour, the Admirall *D'Anebaut* being there within, well prouided of whatsoeuer was necessary for him; after hauing burned the town of *Noyon*, *Nelle*, *Chaunis*, *Roye*, and a magnificent house which the late King *Francis* caused to be builded for the pleasure of hunting, called *Foulebray*, with betweene seuen & eight hundred villages, whereof the most parte were of the D. of *Vendosme* his patrimony, and to speak truly done infinite mischiefs alwaies, by the means of the Queene of *Hungary*, went to besiege *Hedin*: the towne was quickly taken, not being strong enough to sustayne the batterie nor the assault: shortlye after the Castle was besieged on the Parke side, where a great towre which defended the towres on that side, being much broken and the defences beaten downe and shattered to peeces, they found means to vndermine and digge downe a great peece of the wall, and with Cannon shotte to breake downe the squares and spurs as well of that great towre, as of the wall: wherefore the whole suncke downe and was turned topsie turuie within the ditche, which filled it vp, and made a bridge very easie to goe to the assault, the rampire remaining meely vncouered and worne, they had no baskets nor platformes to couer it, and albeit the rampire was as yet seuen or eight foote high, they within notwithstanding seeing the wal so suddenly fallen down & the ditch filled, were so amased & astonished, as without tarrying any assault, they yeilded themselves to composition, their liues and goods saued, & the cōposition was made by *de Rasfe* and *Tanlis*, to which *D'ouoye* of the house of *Querqui* would neuer consent. At this losse the K. much maruelled, considering that a litle before *De Rasfe* had certified him that he had no doubt at all of the holding out of that castle, but that which was found most strange, and that gaue to the French occasion diuerfly to speak, was that *De Rasfe* had euer a good reputation

The Castle of Clermont in Argonne surprised by Chastillon.

Du Reux with the imperiall army would haue surprised *La fere* in *Picardie*.

Hedin besieged by *Du Reux*.

Hedin yeilded to the Emperour by *de Rasfe*.

Admirall de
Anebaut dieth
at La Fere.

The D. of Guise
assured within
Metz.

The distribution
of the Imperiall
army about
Metz.

The D. of Ne-
Lieutenant gene-
rall ouer all the
K. forces in Lor-
raine.

Chastillon being
made Admirall
of France bring-
eth all the K. ar-
my from out of
Picardy toward
Hedin.

The D. of Neu-
ers his compan-
ies make roads
to cut off victu-
alles from the e-
nemies.

of a valiant Knight: hereupon the King vnderstanding of the death of the Admirall D' Anebaut, deceased at La Fere in Picardie, whether hee was retired to defend it from the Imperials, departed from Reims to approach as farre as Challons, whether the D. of Neuers, the Marshall *S. Andre de Chastillon*, and the principall chieftanes of his army came vnto him, to the end to aduise and conclude as soone as might be, of some way how to recouer Hedin: therefore the D. of Guise was sent vnto, to know of him how long time he could be able to defend Metz, and if he were in any necessitie, hee should be the sooner succoured, who assuring himselfe of the will of God, and of the faith & loyaltie of many valiant men which had followed and watched about his person, certified the King that there was no doubt at all of his towne, nor of those which were within, in all whom he knew alike and semblable affection for his seruice, chusing rather to leaue their liues then to go out of that place with dishonor. Besides that he had want of nothing whatsoever, whereby hee should not be able to keepe it against all power of man, with the aide of him, without whom he watcheth in vaine, which will vndertake the keeping of any places: hee aduertised him in like sorte, how that the second day of Nouember the D. of Alua with the greatest parte of the Imperiall armye, hauing quitted the lodging at Belle Croix (*Brabançon* being left there with three Regiments of high Germanes, two of lowe, and three thousand horse) and passed the Riuer of Seille, was come to encampeneere vnto the Towne, distributing his army in the places about, as at S. Clement, and at S. Arnoul, where he was lodged with the Spanish companies: One parte of the Germanes was lodged at Pont de Magny, *Dom Louis d' Auilla* with the Spanish caualerie at La Maladiere, the Seneshal of La Moraue with the Bohemian horse at Blery, the ouerplus at Ollerye, S. Prieche, at the grange aux Dames, at the grange aux Mercieres, and other places about: certifying him further how that they had begun their trenches neere vnto the Porte S. Thibaut, as if they purposed there to plante their principall battery. In the end he wrote the names and surnames of such as had best performed their dutye in sallies out and skirmishes, not forgetting many other affaires as the time serued, in his answer. The King thus standing assured on that parte, ordained the D. of Neuers his Lieutenant generall ouer all his forces, which remained in Lorraine: and for the good and agreeable seruices which *Gasper de Coligny*, called *Chastillon*, had done him and daily did, he honored him with the office of Admirall of France, and at the very instant constituted him his Lieutenant, to bring back his army into Picardie, there to resolute vpon and execute, whatsoever should be most profitable and necessary for his seruice. Afterwardes all the chieftanes being aduertised and instructed in their charges, the armie was leuied by the Admirall, to cause it to take the right way towardes Hedin: the Marshall *S. Andre* was retired to Verdun, the D. of Neuers with his company, and that of *La Roche du Maine*, retired to S. Michel, to the end to cut off victuals from the enimie and turn them away parting themselues in sundrye companies within the Vallies: within S. Michel there were already the Ensignes of Captain *La Prade* and of *La Mothe Gondrin* on hundred lighthorse of capitaine *Pelous*, and one hundred Harquebufiers of Captain *Lamenture* and *Bourdillon* with his company, who a little before was returned from that place, whether the D. Aumalle had written vnto him.

As soone as the D. of Neuers was arriued at S. Michel, there was a road made by his companie, with certaine light horse and Harquebufiers on horseback, vnder the charge of *Mony*, guidon of his company, a valiant and resolute gentleman, as farre as

Malatour

Malatour, a litle towne strong inough neere vnto Gorges, and in other great villages, which couered a valley strong inough, full of hollowe woodes and daungerous places, which they of the Countrie called La Veur, into which certaine souldiers were rettyred, as well Spanish as Germanes, of the imperiall auantgard. Some were slaine, and the rest carried awaie prisoners. This misfortune fel vpon those as returned from the castle of Aspremont, thinking to haue taken the Earle there in his bed, to whom it happened so well, as at that instant he was at Saint Michael neere vnto the Duke of Neuers. For in stead of thinking to take, they were taken, & carried awaie with some bootie. Such roads there and abouts were continued by the Duke of Neuers for the space of three weekes, himselfe beeing there sometimes in person, which so sore annoyed and troubled his enimies, as they were inforced to forget the waie of that quarter. Yea, by reason of these continuall alarums, the imperiall armie was oftentimes constrained to remaine halfe a daie in battell, with great trauell, coldes, and other necessities. But if they endured much, the French men were not cleane exempted, because that ofteneft times they were faine to mount on horsebacke at midnight, inducing so sharpe frosts and colde, as some of them haue euer since had diuerse of their members benumbed, and other dead, lost by the paine and insupportable torments which they endured, hauing continually the snowe vp to their horse bellies: & in such equipage passed they the daie and night without food, after in the daie time, & when they thought to repose themselues, and take a litle breath in theyr lodging, they were faine to keepe the watch for feare of surprisall: so as, as well to keepe themselues, as to annoie and plague the imperials, they endured theyr parte of the discommoditie of the time, but much lesse as they wel witnessed, which had abandoned the: the Italians about all, who dayly went threedmeale from the Emperours campe, to beseech the Duke of Neuers to receiue them into the Kings seruice, who moued with pittie, seeing some dead, and halfe pasing, other hunger starued without monie, vsed all liberallitie possible towardes them, and caused monie to bee giuen them out of his owne coffers attending the kings paie. Afterwardes he sent them to Capitaine *Andre de May* *More*, a man of approued hardinesse, to dresse of them companies as well of foote as light caualerie. By them & other spials the French were aduertised of the most great diligence and wonderful preparatiues which the Duke of Alua had made to addresse his batterle, the great plaines, the trenches, so ample, large, and deepe, as hath bin seene of long time, the great number of artillerie and munitions, the almost innumerable quantitie of baskets, which hee caused continually without anie rest to bee made and filled, making no account of the life of those miserable vascadors, no more than of brute beasts exposed to the mercie of the artillerie and counterbatterle of the towne. They reported likewise the great harmes and annoyances that they within did incessantly vnto them, theyr resolute sallies, so furious & in such sort, as some thought them rather ghosts and deuillish spirites than mortall creatures. And others reporting how the conduct of the most part of theyr sallies was happily executed, attributed all to a rashnesse and bolde hardinesse, more than to wisdom or anie discrete foresight of the inconueniences lyke to happen, in such sorte, as one Sergeant of a band, accompanied with five or sixe souldiers onely, with his halbard chaled awaie, and constrained to abandon the trenches more than three hundred men. Some other in like sort durst goe and naile theyr artillerie, and kill their canoniers vpon theyr peeces. The which the enemies notwithstanding would not repute as a fact worthie either of them, nor of a valiant and magnanimous heart. Besides that, twice or thrice a daie the caual-

The Italians of
the Emperours
campe repaired
to the Duke of
Neuers to be in-
tertaind in the
Kings seruice.

lerie

lerie issued forth, putting the imperials often inough in such disorder, as some of the most hardiest Gentlemen, which woulde doo anie act worthie of memorie, or for the remembrance or loue of their mistresses, would goe breake theyr lances, and strike with theyr swoords euen within the enemies tents, so farr as to cut their ropes aunder, executing strange things, and not heard of in our memorie. Now if the French by such feates were desirous to shew themselves loyall subiectes to their king, and curious of honour, the Duke of Alua repored not lesse of his part, who shewed himselfe so desirous and inflamed to render into the obedience of his maister the Emperour, that puissant Citie, to reioyce him with the taking of so many princes, great Lordes, and valyant men as were there within, that not sparing anie labor, nor the liues of his, he planted his batterie readie the twentieth of Nouember, beginning to shoote at the defences, to wit, at that of the portall of the port Champenois, and of a bulwarke which is within a great tower, the which is towards the riuer called La Tour D'Ensen, and surnamed La Tour de Lanques, & at a little Church being within the town, where there was a platform, in summe, they razed and ruined as much as they could, whatsoeuer might serue as they iudged to the defence of the towne. The six & twentieth he began to cannon it with such an impetuositie, as in the memory of anie liuing man was neuer heard the like, hauing in front fortie great peeces, which carrying bullets of an extraordinarie waight, shot daie and night without anie intermission, other than to refresh themselves. In the mean time the besieged slept not, but with the princes and great Lordes, and generally euen to the verie least, they carried earth & panners to rampire, in such diligence and carefulnesse, as at any place where they imagined the breach should be made, in lesse than twice foure and twentie houres they made vp the rampire the height of a perapeet, leauing betwene the old wall and the rampire conuenient flankers, & a trench farced with diuerse drogs, to feast the most hotly disposed, if they meant to goe to the assalt. Attending which, I will looke back againe into the exploits of the French armie.

As soone as *de Reux* with the Flanders armie, which as yet remained about Hedin, perceiued the French to approach, without anie countenance at all made to be willing to fight for maintenance of them which were redie to be besieged within, he retyred, leauing his sonne in the castle, to whome hee vowed and swore great punishment if hee yeelded the place with dishonour and reproch. With the same charge he left with him his companion, a Henault Gentleman named *Harenuille*. So the breach being made farr stronger by them than before, and standing prouided and strengthened with whatsoeuer they could imagine to bee necessarie for them, they sowed a bruite that both the one and the other woulde rather die there within, than yeelde themselves so good cheap as they that first went out thence. Shortly after the French armie being arriued, the Duke of Vendosme, Lieutenant for the King in Picardie, caused his approaches to bee made, and one of his batteryes to bee planted in the verie same place whete the Bourgonians had addressed theirs, and the other vpon the slope of a little hill of the side of Therouanne. So Hedin began to bee cannoned the seuenteenth of December most furiously, and there were discharged foure thousand three score, and sixe shot of Cannon, without making anie breach or ouerture, that had not yet a rampire behinde eightene or twentie foote high. Yet faintnesse of heart and feare of death ceased the besieged, who yeelded themselves by composition, theyr liues and goods saued, theyr Ensignes displayed, with two meane peeces of artillerie at theyr taylor, wythout taking awaie ought, or transporting of anie thing els

The castle of Hedin yielded vp by *de Reux* his son to the Duke of Vendosme for the king.

of that which they had found within: so the castle of Hedin was yelded and rendered vnto the Kings obedience, by the conduct of the Duke of Vendosme, the eighteenth of December. And albeit that the chiefe was acquitted of his dutie in keeping it, yet fearing his fathers cholar, he remained a long time not daring to present himself before him. Sodainly after the Duke of Vendosme beeing aduertised that the enemies meant to passe ouer the riuer, to giue him battel at the houre that he parled with them of Hedin, by the Kings aduise hee purposed to ease them of that paine, and himselfe went to seeke them out with his forces, with intention to fight with them if they would abide. But not finding themselves strong inough, they retired towards the strong townes, and further into the heart of the Countrie, quitting vnto him the passages to execute his good pleasure, and a means to reuenge himselfe of those cruelties which they had committed vpon his lands.

At such time as these affayres thus passed there, the Duke of Neuers hauing caused on the side of Saint Michael many and sundry roads to be made, to the great damage of the enemies of the crowne of Fraunce, departed thence by an intelligence which he had, how that on the side of *Espinax*, by the Countie of Vaudemont, ordinarily came downe great quantitie of victuals & prouisions to the Emperors campe. Therefore with those few men of warre which he was able to recouer, beeing two hundred men at armes, two hundred light horse, and as many harguebuziers on horseback, he retired towards Vaucouleurs, a little French village, renowned inough vpon the riuer of Meuse, within fise leagues of Thoul, included within many of the lands of Lorain, from whence within two daies after he departed to go towards Thoul, thether causing his forces to approach, which he made to be lodged in a verie faire and great village, named *Blancieu*, a temporall lordship & roialtie of the Chapitre of S. Stephens of Thoul, and in other little ones adioyning. Shortly after their comming was a role made of the men at arms, and archers, the most likely and best mounted, to the number of fixe score, conducted by *Mony*, to breake and cut vp the head of a maruellous great pond in the countie of Vaudemont, thereby to drowne and destroy a number of villages which were vnderneath it, whether many victuals had retired themselves, and where the enemies forages found yet great store of corne and forage: which notwithstanding was already found broken and cut vp, to the great hinderance of the Countie. The French men hauing made the hole greater, and returning homewards, met with a great troupe of waggons & chariots, laden with all sortes of victuals and munitions, addressed to the imperiall campe. Whereof hauing made the greatest spoile that they were able, with a great deale of wines of Arbois, and marred the ouerplus, and hauing slaine some of the guides and waggons, led away as many horses as they were able, and retired with great daunger, notwithstanding that they were constrained to passe at full daie through sundrie villages where some of the enemies were lodged, as wel of foot as horse. The which notwithstanding fell out without the losse of anie one, in respect they were not knowen, apparelled like marchants, without anie white crosses or scarfes seene, and their harnesse couered with their cloakes, being likewise thought to be auantcouriers, to drawe them to an ambuscade, or fearing least the greater troupes of the enemies were couered and laie hid. Wherefore the Duke of Neuers verie much contented herewith, anon after retired to Vaucouleurs.

Now to looke backe againe to what the Emperour did before Metz, hee trauelled there with small aduantage, all the thunder and strange impetuositie of his artillerie not able to make one hole or passage fit to giue the assalt, which the Marques *Albert*

L

demanded

The Duke of Neuers at Vaucouleurs, to stop such victuals as came from the French countie to the Emperors campe, & his courtes to annoy the imperials.

A guile to passe amidst ones enemies without danger.

The Emperours
battery at Metz.

demaunded of him; thinking thereby further to aduance himselfe into his good fauour, for that hauing well neere shaken all the great tower D'enfer, all the great parte of wall betweene the tower and the porte Champenois, with the bulwarke which couered it, he could not raise the vaumure, otherwise termed fanse-braie, which held vp the quarters of the wall that fell, and were stayed the one vpon the other, betweene this vaumure and the foote of the wall, no wayes filling of the ditch, which remayned as neate, large, and deepe as before: nay, they serued them within for a stronger rampire. Wherefore it was thought good the batterie shoulde bee chaunged to another place a litle aboue, and to vndermine that parte, to turne topsie turuie into the ditch that same vaumure and fanse-braie: whereof the Duke of Guise beeing aduertised, hee caused countermines to bee made within in sundrie places, in which hee might haue anie knowledge, and prouide for theyr passages, in such sorte, as they had not long digged and hollowed theyr mines, but the sentinels and scouters of the besieged might easily heare and perceiue them, the which began to discourage them, to daunt and quayle greatly in theyr enterprise. Ioyne that then, as well by reason of the maruellous coles, as thorough the necessities and defaultes of sundrie things for the men of warre, the verie Germanes beganne euen to sayle of courage, who caused to bee signified vnto the Emperour, that it woulde please his maiestie to command a reasonable breach to bee made, to enter and take the towne, choosung rather to die honourable at an assault, than miserably to fall by colde and extreame famine. It was then that the Emperour iudging of the impossibilitie of the taking thereof, was pricked with an acknowledgement of his fault, and wyth a great grieffe to haue there fetled so euill a beginning, for seeing so shamefull an end to so hotte desseines, yet to make them lifte vp theyr heartes, and incourage them to his power, hee promised them that if by the ende of the yeere hee dyd not make a reasonable breach, hee woulde giue them leaue to departe, which made them to temporize, and take patience. Whereupon to make prooffe of this good affection, hee commaunded agayne the Duke of Alua wyth all diligence to cause these mines already begunne to bee continued and pursued, the which he did with so great and feruent a desire, that hee abandoned the worke neyther night nor daie. But the time was so contrarye vnto him, as all remayned vnperfect, wherefore if then in the enemies campe euerie man sayled off force and courage, the French increased from houre to houre, making more and more continuall sallies and charges vpon them, wherewith they dayly diminished their armie, for some stole awaie, and retired by whole troupes into theyr Countries, others in great number were found stiffe, and frozen within the trench-es, lodgings, tents, and quarters, and many pale, diseased in their liuers, and dead for hunger, partly for that they were so euill paid, the Emperours treasure beeing verie much consumed. Who seeing the tearme promised to the Germanes to draw neere, hauing before his eyes a fearefull kinde of shame to retorne, without hauing done anie honourable action, himselfe beeing there in person, caused some to practise with them, to found them whether they wold be content to go with him to besiege Thoul, an imperiall towne, whereof men could not be able to finish the fortification, by reason of the plague which had taken awaie so great a number of the inhabitants. To which they made answer, that they had not deliberated vpon it, and they were commanded by the Princes & electors, not to passe anie further vntill Metz were first taken or yelded vp. Therefore if it woulde please his maiestie to make anie breach bee opened as hee promised, they were all readie either to die there, or enter in: from

Mines begun to
be made by the
imperials before
Metz, to make a
breach.

from this time about the eighteenth of December hee began to cause his best and greatest peeces of artillerie to retire. A litle after hauing assembled together all his Councell, to conclude of an honourable retreat, it was commaunded to the Earle of Aiguemont, Colonell, and chiefe of two Regiments of Cauallerie lodged at Pont Camoufon, to go downe with his forces all alonge the riuer as farre as Thoul, & as much lower as was possible for him, to discouer the Countrie, and know what number of men of warre might be there all along with the Duke of Neuers, doubting least at his retreat some greater anioiances might be done him. Whereupon this Earle departed with his Cauallerie from Pont Camoufon, & passing along the Mozelle as far as Thoul, caused it to bee summoned in passing thorough the suburbs, addressing his Trumpetter to *D'esclauelles*, who was the gouernour. Who hauing vnderstoode the Chiamade, made a signe to him with his hand that hee should retyre, albeit that hee had iust occasion to doubt vpon this summons, seeing the want of victualles, the towne pregnable, and to bee battered on euerie side, euill prouided of artillerie and munitions, whereof hee aduertised the Duke of Neuers, who was at Vaucouleurs. But the Gentleman of his house who carried the newes, named *Torte esper*, was taken by the waie by some of that Cauallerie, scattered to finde some wandering bootie as it befell vnto them, for hauing taken from him an hundred crownes which he had vnder his saddle, they stript him no further: but hee shewed himselfe so accord, as finding himselfe halfe at libertie, hee saued himselfe acrosse the woode, thorough the darknesse of the night, and so performed his message. And as soone as the Duke of Neuers receiued this aduertisement, hee sent all night long to fetch his men of warre, at the instant to come vnto him, which was lodged one or two leagues off. And albeit that it was at a time of rest, and that the most parte were already asleepe, his commaundement notwithstanding was, that euerie man shoulde bring his armour on his backe, and readily mount on horsebacke. So they passed all the night wyth keeping a good watch, as it was reason, because that this Earle approached as neere them as they coulede, and went vpon the brinke of the riuer into a village called *Dagny* vpon Meuse, thinking to surprise them. But seeing the fire of all sides, hearing the noyse and neighing of horses, and by other tokens knowing howe they had warning and attended him, hee retyred backe his wayes, where returning vpon the riuer of Mozell, hee passed neere vnto a litle towne named *Gondreuille*, seated vpon the banke of that riuer, of the side of Nancie. On the other parte a litle before was arriued the Baron of Guerres, which returned freshly from a roade, who not aduertised of his enemies beeing so neere him, wanted verie litle of passing the riuer of Bac, which if hee had done, as much had happened vnto him as did to some others that were of his companie, who for hauing crossed the riuer already on the enemies side, were surprised, some hurt, others taken prisoners, and fewe or none killed or slayne, the Baron saued himselfe wythin the litle towne, and was not rigorously pursued, as well for the darkenesse of the night, as the feare which they had lest they shoulde bee charged vpon. That verie same night was *S. Simon*, a Gentleman of the house of the Duke of Neuers sent wyth fyue and twenty horse as farre as Thoul, to vnderstande of *Eselauelles* the successe of the enterprise, and sent by the Duke of Neuers to aduertise the King of all the proceedings. Who in short answer sent vnto him, and prayed him to search out by all meanes possible that hee coulede, howe that towne of Thoul myght be

bee preferred, and holde out onely for fiftene dayes, within which time hee would not sayle himselfe to come to succour it wyth all his power. The Duke vpon this aunswere, would not put anie other in trust with this charge, but reseruing it vnto himselfe, the two and twentieth of December followed by *Bordillon*, *De Bigny* master of the Q. householde, *d'Eschenets* and *de Giry* Ensigne of his companie, he went and lodged within the towne thus vnprovided. As soone as the Duke was there arriued, hee made the round vpon the walls about the towne, and visited a beginning of rampires and platformes, which *D'Escauoller* had begun to frame wythin, the which was found to bee excellently well inuented by the ingeners and masters of fortifications, whome hee caused to come thither, to consider of, and adresse the disposing and finishing of this fortification, enterprised and imprinted so deeply in his affection, that there remayned not one man about his person, to whome hee gaue not some commision, and hee himselfe the most part of the time stirred not, interrupting the ordinarie houres of his meales, so greatly was he affectionate to that worke, that there rested verie small time that hee sawe not some platforme made vp in defence, which carryed his name, *De Bordillon* was as busie about another, and they seemed to bee almost ialous of the perfection of theyr workes. Besides, hee made search to be made throughout all the houses, garners, and sellers, and to take an oath of all those which inhabited there, to knowe what corne, wines, haie, fourage, and of euerie kinde of victuals might bee wythin the Towne, to the ende that order might bee taken therein. But there was a small deale founde, hauing benee carryed awaye before by the Burgeses and those which were retyred to other places for feare of the plague, and that which remayned wythin the towne was consumed and spoiled without reason, by the souldyers, and such as remayned there during this peryll. Then beeing informed how that into two little townes, Thoul, and Gondeuille, greate quantitie was carryed as well out of the plaine Countrie, as little townes and French lands, for feare of the enemyes, hee sent to summon them, and gaue commandement that it shoulde bee brought and stored vp wythin Thoul. To Gondeuille was sent *Eschenets*, followed a farre off by an Ensigne of footemen, wyth a certayn number of horse. The Prouost and the inhabitants, after some difficulties, sawe themselves so sodaynly surprised, that in the ende they aduised themselves to obey. They of Thoul grew stubborn, forgetting themselves in the regarde of *Monie*, who was sent vnto them with fiftie horse of the Duke of Neuers his companie, and an Ensigne of fanterie, to summon them to obey the Kings Lieutenant. Notwithstanding after his honest perswasions, seeing the Prouost contestate, and at his dissembled presumption the inhabitants rebellious, hee caused the towne presently to bee scaled, and taken as thee was by assault, they somewhat felt the payment of theyr refusall. *Monie* notwithstanding caused the furie of the French souldyers to cease, already heated at the slaughter. The Ensigne of Fanterie remained and lodged there, yntill that all the victuals which were within were carryed to Thoul, wythout taking or carrying awaie anie thing, thereby to maintayne them alwayes in theyr Neutralitie: so all victuals and munition were carryed to Thoul from all partes, by the commandement of the generall, with so good order, as euerie man liued somewhat better, and wyth more discretion than before. And after hauing considered howe in case the siege shoulde bee, the towne would bee verie ill provided of footmen, hee caused foure other companies to enter in, which made vp the number of eightene hundred fantasins, & some light horse, ouer and aboue the ordinarie garrison.

The

The Emperour
vpon the point
to retire from
Metz.

The Duke of Neuers beeing heereupon aduertised, how the Emperour euen longed to retyre himselfe, and how his armie euerie daie broke and diminished, seldome suffered anie daie to passe wythout sending some people ouer the Countrie to hasten theyr going: so as oftentimes in stead of aduancing forward, they caused them to reccyle backe inough wyth a number of prisoners which they tooke. Notwythstanding they founde them in so great pouertie, as they were faine to let them passe wythout anie harme dooing. In this estate remayned they vntill the last daie of the moneth of December, that the Emperour vnderstanding of the taking of the castle of Hedin, seeing himselfe to fall and to diminish of euerie thinge, fearing besides the returne of the Kings armie, and to fall into greater losse, was one of the first which retyred on new yeeres daie, leauing all the charge to the Duke of Alua, for the departing of his armie, and ordering of the retreat. As soone as his departure was knowne throughout the campe, the wayes and villages rounde about were sodaynly full of souldyers, which retyred themselves, the one into theyr quarter, the other whether they were able, in so great miserie, as verie beasts, were they neuer so cruel, would haue taken pittie of those miserable souldiers, falling and staggering along the high waies in extreme necessitie, and most commonly dying neere the hedges, and at the rootes of bushes, to become a prairie to dogges and birdes. And which is yet more to bee lamented by men of courage, to bee enforced to die so poorelye, without hauing made anie great prooffe at all of theyr valor. The which ought greatly to moue the heartes of such men, as God hath rendered so happie in this worlde, that they neuer felt nor assayed the hardnesse of warre. And when they speake with a full belly and the cuppe in theyr hande, it seemeth vnto them a wedding, to liue in such an estate as consisteth not in thousand and thousand of perills, more than in the daunger both of soule and bodie, except it bee wisely & iustly executed. Not to loose anie time vpon the intelligence which the Duke of Neuers had receiued, hee sent *Monie*, and the Captaine *Andre de Maye More*, wyth about fise hundred horse, as well of men at armes, as harguebuziers on horsebacke, to put on theyr spurs agaynst the inhabitants of the Countie, retyring themselves into theyr quarters, where there wanted verie litle, that the sonne of *Granuelle*, the Baron of Carlaon, and others, had not bene there staied, but doubting themselves of that comming, by slacke and long treatises, they saued themselves. Hauing failed of this their first enterprise, they at one treat went at the point of day to lie in ambuscade neere Ramberuilliers, within which was a Commissarie of victualles, which came from the Franche-comte to the Emperour, and the master of the monie of Besancon, with two other marchauntes which brought great quantitie of all kinde of victualles and prouisions. The commissaries and marchants were before horsed and guided by a Lorrainer, who serued for a spie, by whome the Duke of Neuers was certainly aduertised what hee was to put in execution for theyr surprisall. Wherefore as they were in ambuscade neere inough to the towne, *Andre de Maye* sent certayne Italian souldyers, which were to aduertise the ambuscade, by a signe if they entered, and gaine the port vpon the gardes, so as faining to come from the imperiall campe, and to indure great colde and hunger, they lamented so much, as they were let to goe seeke some victuals. Anon after some other came thither, who did as the first, & in such wise as seeming strong inough to repulse the gardes from the ports, who were but Loraia peasants armed with old bills, rotten staves, and rustie brigandines, *Andre* speaking excellent good Spanishe, was no sooner arriued, but the souldiers who were aduertised of the signe made them, charged

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vpon

vpon the porters halfe asleepe, and the rest dronke, of whome some were massacred, other constrained to abandon the gates, which were a little after opened to all the rest of the ambuscade, who beeing aduertised thereof, couragiously entered in. I leaue you to thinke what good husbandrie there was made. The Comissarie was founde there hidde in the bedstrawe, and wyth these marchants was carryed prisoner to Thoul, the victuals and prouisions dispearfed, and spoyled as much as they coude. They did as much at Espinau, a castle situate vpon Mozelle and Rimiremont, where great violence was offered to the Abbess and Ladies, especially by the Italians which were newly come from the Emperous campe to the Kings seruice. The Duke of Neuers had sent *Chastellus* Lieutenant of Bordillons companie, towards Metz with like number of Cauallerie, to learne out and make a certaine report of the truth of this re- trait. Who passing by the Pont Camoufon, founde that the Count of Aiguemont with his regiment of Cauallerie was departed thence: where was onely remayning a great number of miserable sicke creatures. From whence he passed as farre as Metz, where hee found that the Dukes of Alua and Brabant, with the greatest part of the imperiall armie were dislodged in straunge disorder, departing in the night with two fires onely for signall, the most secretly that they could, without anie noise, trumpets, fises, and drums sleeping, the tents lefte behind, and great quantitie of all sorts of har- nesse and weapons, pipes full of cannon poudre, with an infinite deale of moueables and stufte, and vnder the ground a great part of theyr artillerie * remaining for hosta- ges, an incredible multitude of sicke persons, towards whom the Duke of Guise, and the rest of the chiefe, euen to the simplest French souldiers, vsed most great charitie, furnishing them with all necessaries, and such releefe as poore sick strangers had need of. Vpon the tayle charged the Vidame of Chartres, so as hauing defeated a com- panie of light horse, and caused a great deale of theyr poudre which hee had taken a- waie in theyr sight to be burned, hee returned wyth more prisoners than he was wil- ling, wythout the losse of anie one of his owne. The Marques *Albert* remayned the last to serue for helpe and arreregard, not without great paine and hazard, thorough the continuall alarums which daie and night hee receyued. Besides that, he prayed the Duke of Neuers to hasten him to go, so as the third of Ianuarie he departed from Thoul with his men at armes, and cauallerie, and three Ensignes of fanterie, accom- panied with *Bordillon* and sundrie other Gentlemen and Captaines. After he went to dine at Pont Camoufon, where the rest of that daie hee carryed to heare newes of the Marshall of Saint Andre, who was gone the lower waie: hauing in lyke sort sent *Mo- uie* to the Duke of Guise, praying him to aduertise him of the resolution of that af- fayre, whose aunswere hee attended. But *Chastellus* being returned, and by him as- sured of the whole, especially how the Marques fought all meanes to saue himselfe and retire, hee went forwards towards Metz with two hundred horse. The rest of that daie the Princes tooke great pleasure to see the braue sallies and skirmishes of theyr souldiers. Vpon the Marques & his Germanes whom they went to seeke out in their owne forte, and giue them thrusts of pikes, and harquebuz shot euen within theyr tents, to prouoke them to come out into the plaine to fight, which they woulde not doo but by constraint, keeping still close together, and vnited, wythout breaking or seuering themselves. In this estate and paine were they constrained to tarrie from morning vntill night, not once daring to enlarge themselves so much as to seeke out victuals. For as soone as they were found in anie small number, by and by, by the Ma- rangetz and Fouillardz, villaines of the Countie, they had theyr throates cut, and

Retreat of the
imperiall armie
before Metz.

* There were a-
bout seven thou-
sand men put in-
to Abbies by the
D. of Guise and
releued, as ofte
hath ben report-
ed vnto me the
Translators, by
the most renou-
med Lord C. H.
L. high Admirall
of England, who
himselfe saw all,
remained in the
towne all the
sige, and serued
the daie that the
Duke of Aumall
gaue battell to
the Marques, na-
roxly escaping,
being of the suite
of the Vidame
of Chartres, in all
those warres.

Sallies & skir-
mishes between
the foldiers with
in Metz. & Mar-
ques Alberts
campe.

were

were defeated. Wherewith being the more annoyed, they ought rather to come out as the French desired, considering that they coude not inforce them but with greate losse. Therefore to the end they might the more vexen them, the Duke caused foure meane Culuerines to bee placed in a lytle Ilande about Pont au Mores, which shot euen within them. In summe, they dyd so fore annoyen them, as two dayes after the Marques hauing lost the better parte of his men, departed thence in a farre lesse num- ber than hee came with, taking his waie towards Treuues. Hee was a little followed after, and they made a good market wyth his people, being combatted inough wyth colde, famine, and other miseries. But the French moued with pittie made no ac- count thereof: but in stead of tormenting them, they opened vnto them the passage, and suffered the members to go scotfree, wishing onely that they might haue gotten the head to haue paid for all.

The Duke of Guise aduertised the King by *Randan* of all the successe of his siege, who after hauing yeelded thankes vnto God for so good an issue, commaunded that they should make publyke and general procesions throughout his Realme, to praise and thanke God of so great and especiall a grace for all France. The Duke of Guise dyd the lyke at Metz wyth a generall procesion, where he himselfe was present with all humilitie and deuotion, as also dyd the rest of the Princes and Lordes which ac- companied him, to wit, the Princes of D'anguien, de Conde, Montpenfier, la Roche Surion, de Nemours, *Horace Farneze*, *Pierre Strossie*, *le Vidame de Chartres*, *Montmo- rencie*, *D'annuille*, *de Gonor*, gouernour of Metz, *De la Brosse*, Lieutenant of the Duke of Lorraines companie, and *De la Rochefoucault*, the Vizecount of Turaine, and *De Mar- tiques*, *D'elanges*, *Entragues*, *De Biron*, and *Saint Remy*, and generally all the Captaines, Gentlemen, and souldyers which remayned after the siege. Afterwardes hauing or- dered the garrison which should remaine there within, and disposed of all the rest of the affaires, the musters being taken as wel of the men at armes as the fanterie, hee gaue leaue to all to go repose and refresh themselves in their owne houses, and he himselfe went to the Court, leauing *De Gonor* to command in his place.

During the time that the Emperour patiently carryed the misfortune happened vnto him, vnder a hope of a more fauourable to come, and as hee retired to the Low Countries, hee excused himselfe towards the Princes and Cities of the Empire of so pittifull successe, laying it vpon the slacknes of theyr forces and meanes. For which cause, sayde hee, hee was inforced to set vpon that place in the dead of winter: The King of France triumphed ouer his miseries, and increasing them by his Letters and Embassages to all Christian Princes, the more to diminish the authoritie and credite of his enemy, whose power hee sayde was altogether broken by the issue of so mise- rable a siege, passed the most parte of the times for reuenge of so great raines and sick- nes, as had bene indured by the continuance of the warres passed, in ease and reioy- cings which hee tooke in feastings, tiltings, turney, and other royall pleasures, among which, the marriage made at Paris wyth rare magnificence, betwene *Horace Farneze* Duke of Castres, and the Ladie *Diana* his natural daughter, was most famous. But the Emperour prompt and actiue in his actions, pricked besides with an extreame desire of reuenge, which by all meanes in all places hee practised, soone troubled this good cheere, for in the beginning of the spring, with such a number as hee was able to as- semble, and first vnder the conduct of *du Reux* hee sent to besiege Terroanne. But pre- uented by death, that charge was giuen to *Binecourt*, a knight esteemed one of the most sweet & gracious among them. That Citie, albeit that it was little of circuit, had a re- nowne great inough throughout all Europe, of which the Romanes make honorable

Thankes giuing
to God by the
French for the
siege raised at
Metz.

mention

mention in their writings. It was situated vpon the little riuer of Liz, in the confines of Gaul Belgique, a nation of a long time esteemed warlike by the historiographers, called by the Latins *Morini*, now they call it the Countie of Ponthieu somewhat neer the great Ocean sea, in situation somewhat hanging, inuironed with fens & marishes, woodes, and great Forrests. Besides, curiously fortified by the Kings of Fraunce, to whose handes it hath a long time since bene fallen, to serue them as a bulwarke and frontire as well against the English, as Flemings and Hanuiers, among which it is inclosed, hauing done a thousand spoiles, and an hundred sundrie enterprises, which they woulde attempt vpon Picardie. Wherefore it was once cleane rayfed and made euen to the earth by the Englishmen, and there was saine sowne in signe of eternall ruine. But yet is it much more odious to the Flemings, Burgonians, and Hanuiers, who for this occasion importunately induced the Emperour to this enterprise. Now forsomuch as it was esteemed impregnable, & that as well by intelligence, as other considerations not thought, that the Emperour woulde conuert his forces to that place, but rather into Champagne, towards Mezieres and Yuoy, they had not so carefully furnished it with victuals & sure munition, as was requisite for so long a siege. Whereof the neighbours being aduertised, the enemies vied so greate diligence, that it was sodainly besieged, *De Loffer* being alone, within the principall and chiefe, with his light horse and some people of the Country, in no great number, nor of anie great defence. Ioyn that thorough the couetousnes and neglygence of former gouernours, a thing naturall to vs French men, this key remained bare and vnfurnished of all prouisions: therefore it was necessarie to make a vertue of necessitie, & where prudence could not take place, there it was necessarie that force should seconde it. In such sorte, as euen in the beard of the enemy, and in spight of them, being as men iudged for the most parte not vfed to the arte of warres, they strengthened it with men, victuals, and whatsoeuer they were able. *D'esse*, otherwise called *Pannilliers*, knight of the order, most renowned for his vertue and prowesse, being sent thither Lieutenant for the King, and with him *Frances of Montmorencie*, eldest sonne to the Constable, with the most part of theyr companies, followed wyth a great number of other Lordes, Gentlemen and souldyers, who entered therein to seeke for honour: and the rest following theyr Captaines to defend and keepe the place. But as such a victualling thereof despightened the Emperour, and making him obstinate, reiterated his despight, to cause it to bee battered and assaulted, the King contrarywise assuring himselfe of an impossibilitie to force it, slacked it in such sort, as without anie other succours or preparatiues, hee lefte his enemy to doo whatsoeuer hee listed. For albeit that they wythin, and the Duke of Vendosme wyth the men at armes of the garrisons about, impeached and gaue alarums vnto them as much as was possible, yet theyr number being much greater and stronger than the French, they could not so hinder them, but that they made their approaches, where they themselues thought best euen to plant their batterie where they pleased, and knew might most annoy the towne, putting the verie mouth of theyr artillerie neereft, and vpon the brinke of the ditch betwene the castle and the towre Du Chapitre, vpon a little hill where the gallows stode hard by. Hauing brought from many townes and castles of Flanders and Artois all sortes of Artillerie, with innumerable munitions of powder and bullets. So glad was that nation to see it inuironed, that not onely women and litle children ranne thither, but for ioy sung songs, and vulgar rimes, carrying and bringing into the campe all sortes of graine, drinckes, beasts, and other victuals by heapes, which made their armie seeme farre greater in number, than well furnished of good souldiers.

Their

Theyr batterie began about the end of Iune, straunge and furious inough: but albeit the bullets fell as thicke within the towne, as great hailestones out of the skie, and that there was not vpon the rampires, thorough the streets or within the houses, any sure place and without danger, yet they within besieged were finally leared therewith. Now making continuall sallies and recharges vpon their enemies in the midst of these thickes and smoakes, they sought them out, and by heapes beate them within theyr owne forts and trenches, and sometimes constrained them to abandon theyr trenches, and had leasure inough to sticke vp some of theyr peeces with nayles, and set theyr powder on fire, so as they dragged into the towne one of theyr culuerines, and after shot many shootes at them, albeit the great store of artillerie and munition which was continually brought to the campe, hourly repayed anie disorder or annoyance, which the French with great labour and daunger could doo them, being a farre greater lesse to loose one man besieged, than ten besieging. Vpon this the tempest and thundring batterie of the enemies grew greater dayly, & there remained not within the towne, tower, or turret, to the least battlement that fell not to the ground, there was not anie defence without or within, which they rayfed not. Briefly, in seeing it thus battered, & thrown downe, one would easily belecue that they determined to laie it all to dust. They within without anie respect at all of theyr owne liues, to the same place whether they sawe the bullets bend, from moment to moment carried vpon their backs earth, faggots, turfs, and dung, which notwithstanding much weakned them by reason of the continuall toyle which they in the daie had to ram-pire, and in the night to watch, to keepe sentinell, and sustaine diuerse alarums with litle rest, for a necessitie practising the office of souldiers and labourers both together, by reason of the small number of artificers and pioners, and lesse store of anie necessarie tooles that was in the towne at a pinch, as pickaxes, spades, shouelles, mattocks, crowes, and such sort of yron workes, whereof they stood in so great need, as the souldiers within were constrained to peck the ground with spits, daggers, fire shouels, and as a man maye saie, euen scratch it wyth their nayles: for which and such like wantes, many townes in France haue bene gotten by the enemy, albeit that they were well furnished besides for good men: for help whereof, and to giue some reioycing to the long trauell of the besieged, they caused the Captain *Grille* to enter in with one hundred harguebuziers on horsebacke. The which hee brauely enterprised and executed, and with such conduct, as hauing forced the watch, with small losse of anie of his souldiers he entered in, in the sight of them all, which greatly increased their courage. The same daie they made a sallie in like sorte out vpon them luckily inough, & made their retreat like men of warre, without receiuing the worse. But that nation shewed it selfe so greate an enemy to this poore miserable towne, that shee forgot nothing whereby shee might make her extreame desire appeare, of seeing the totall destruction thereof, and how much by day & night they ceased not to torment it, by all means which they could possible imagine, by so much more increased the courage of the French, to repulse them backe, for in lesse than one houre they had made vp the rampire without the ladder, where they perceiued the artillery to begin to shake the wal, and made stronger in an instant, what in one daie had bene thrown downe, then it was before. Notwithstanding the lightning of their artillerie was so terrible and violent thundering without intermission, as there was neither rampire, banke, nor defence, which it turned not ouer without remedie, the which continued so furiouslie for the space of neere hand ten dayes together. Within which time the enemies supposing that they had made a breach reasonable and great inough, as in deed it was of

thre-

threescore paces long, the wall, rampire, & all the defences as well of the castle as the great tower being broken downe and battered, no more remaining but a litle mount which they within had caused to bee made, and the parapect and toppe of the ditch, which was yet strong, and hard for them to mount vpon, notwithstanding that as well with the quarters and ruines of the wall, as with faggots and hurdles, they dyd what they could to fill vpon the ditch, to make the scale more easie. That beeing known to those within, they resolved to abide them, and you may easily beleeue that they leste nothing in theyr lodgings that was not brought out. After many volleys of artillerie, as well from the mountaine, which gaue right on the backe of the besieged, willing to defend the breach, as from that which shot in face of them on the riuer side, with a great noise of Fifes, Drums, Trumpets, and diuerse cries after theyr manner, they went furiously to the assault of all partes, carrying ladders and all kinde of engines to scale and force the towne, and there was that daie a most marvellous combat seen. For if the enemies were wilfull to enter in, much more had the French a better wil to defend themselves and repulse them. There could one haue seene nothing but wild fire, and vnquenchable crackling of armour, and all kinde of weapons, pittious cries of those which were burned, maimed, turned ouer, and drawing towardes death: generally all sortes of most terrible and furious executions, for the space of more than ten long houres, the enemies refreshing themselves three times. In the end the resolute constancie of the besieged preuayled, and vanquished the obstinacy of the imperials, repulsing them with a great butcherie of theyr most braue men, not without greate losse of them that kept it, among whom the valiant Knight *De Hesse* lost his life, whose prowesse was alreadie renowned beyonde the frontiers of Fraunce in many places, namely in the Ilandes of England and Scotland, as also dyd *De Viennes*, *De Beaudisne*, *De la Rochepesay*, *De Blandie*, and the Captaine *Ferriers*, all men of marke, and of laudable conduct, with other valiant Gentlemen and souldiers.

The King beeing aduertised how couragiously his men behaued themselves, perswaded himselfe that to so victorious a beginning, there could not insue but a most happie end, without ordaining anie further succours for this litle towne almost torne in peeces of all partes, sauing onely that hee caused *De Hedin*, the Captaine *Breuil*, and *S. Romain* with about three hundred footmen, to assaie if they could enter in. Which they most fortunatly performed, not without great daunger and hazard of their persons, the enemies hauing with theyr trenches and mounts compassed and inuironed the towne round about, euen so far as to place their Corps de guets within the ditches, who being neuer a whit the more cooled nor discouraged for that, fought daylye hand to hand with the French which kept the breach, and grewe much more earnest in returning vnto it, assaying by all force possible to carrie it awaie, and did not onely giue fire to diuerse hollow mines in sundrie places, the most part whereof they found false and vented; but they beside practised a slight neuer before used, which was to dig vnder the parapect and backe of the ditch, beeing verie hard and vneasie to mount vpon to the breach, all the flankers and defences (as I haue tolde you) being raised and broken downe with the artillerie, hauing made certaine Taudis, which they call Mancelets, in fashion of blinders, onely to couer them from hand strokes and stones, whilst that they did approach to the foot of the breach, vnder which they hollowed & trained their mine as themselves could desire. Whereat the French maruelling enough, perswaded themselves that the enemies were not able to hollowe and dig so farre as vnder their feet, which were aboue them vpon the breach, but rather that they wold drawe out the earth from vnder the castle, or the great tower *Du Chapitre*, but contrariwise

A furious assault
to Terroane by
the Fleminges &
Hanuiers, helde
out by the
French.

A stratageme of
the Capitaines,
Breuil & *Saint*
Romain.

trariwise they still digged vnder the parapect, the length of the verie breach, holding vp the burthen with shores and piles, fylling the ditch full of the earth which they drew out. The worke being finished, and fire put thereto, it happened that one parte of this parapect was blowne vp, and fel within the ditch, and the rest sunke in a heap, swallowing vp many French souldiers, the which made the mouth of the breach far greater, and so easie, as a man at armes might mount vp on horseback armed at all peeces. Whereupon *Frances* of Montmorencie, according to the counsell of all the Capitaines which were within with him, considering how there was no more meanes to defend the town or make anie resistance, aduised at the least how to saue the persons, and demanded composition, which was graunted vnto him. But whilst that they parlyed, the Germanes and Burgonians entered in at diuerse places, and thereupon the olde Spanish Ensignes ranne vp the great breach, crying, *Faire warres, faire wars*. Whereupon some French men drew to them with theyr pikes, and stretched out theyr handes vnto them to keepe them from beeing murdered by the Germanes. Nothing beeing able to bee otherwise concluded by this composition by reason of such a surprisall, where you might haue seene most strange cruelties which the Germanes and Burgonians committed, speaking of nothing but cutting of throats, so as the miserable French men esteemed themselves most happie to fall prisoners into the handes of more gracious Lordes, from whose furie hardly could *Frances de Montmorencie* saue himselfe, who onely remained there within lieutenant for the king, whom in seeking to couer and defend, *D'ouartie* was fore set vpon and hurt in his presence, yet afterwarde hee was known and carried prisoner to Binécourt, the Emperours Lieutenant. The other more apparant prisoners, as the Vicount *de Martiques*, *Dampierre*, *de Loffes*, *Baudiment*, *Baillet*, *de S. Romain*, the Capitaines *Grille*, *le Breul*, and *Saint Romane* yeelded themselves to diuerse masters, as the hazard gaue them leaue: and forasmuch as the simple souldiers were the first which entered in, and not the capitaines or Lordes of authoritie, such prisoners as could readily make anye money, went out good cheape, as the Vicount *de Martiques*, *Dampierre*, *de Saint Romane*, and the Captaine *Breul*. But such as tarried tardie were known, and in great daunger there to abide by it long. The surplus of the souldiers found at the Spaniards hands (to whose mercie the most parte were fallen) an honest entertainment, taking of such as had meanes reasonable ransome, and the poore hauing stript them of their weapons and best stuffe, they sent backe safely, and oftentimes themselves conducted them. Within this litle towne was found a great deale of good and grosse artillerie, chiefly two verie faire and long Culuerines.

In this time the great Turke *Soliman* carried himselfe too rigorously towardes the person of *Sultan Mustapha* his eldest sonne, which he had of a slaue. Who hauing beene sent with his mother from his first youth into the prouince of *Amasia*, which was giuen vnto him, was so well and carefully brought vp, as hee there atchieued great honour and amitie, not onely of all in that Countrie, but thoroughout all the governments of his Father. This mother beeing absent, *Soliman* tooke another slaue vnto him named *Rosa*, of whome hee had foure other sonnes, *Mahomet*, *Baiazer*, *Selim*, *Giangir* the crooke backe, and one daughter, which was marryed to *Bassa Rastan*. *Rosa* being indued with admirable beautie, accompanied with all the flattering delights and allurements which possibly one could imagine, knewe so well howe to plaie her part towardes *Soliman*, who was as it were a man rauished, that by the helpe of *Muchthy* (as much to saie, as the soueraine Priest of the lawe of *Mahomet*) and vnder colour of religion, shee was not onely made free of condition, but lawfull wife & spouse

Terroane surpris-
ed vpon the
terms of com-
position.

The crueltie of
the Germanes &
Burgonians at
the taking of
Terroane.

The principall
prisoners taken
within Terroane

The humanitie
of the Spaniards
towardes the
French souldiers.

Soliman the
great Turke cau-
teth his sonne to
be slaue.

Religion lighte
a colour for anie
villanie.

spouse of *Soliman*, to which neuer anie before her attained. Raised now vnto such honour, and seeing her selfe entirly beloued, she had no greater care than how to establish the Empire vnto one of her children after the death of the father. But foreseeing that the singular vertues of *Mustapha* would bee so farre contrarie thereunto, that whilest hee liued shee should neuer haue rest, (because that he had gotten the loue of the men of warre, and how the eyes of all men were vpon him, for the great hope of his magnanimious courage and singular dexteritie) she studied as much as she could to make him become odious to *Soliman*, to which her sonne in law greatly aided her, for that hee as then gouerned all the affayres. Her reasons were, how that *Mustapha* building vpon the loue and fauour which hee had gotten of all men, thorough his great liberalitie, courage, & dexteritie of spirit, burned with such a longing to raigne, as euery man feared least in affecting the Empire, hee would shorten the dayes of *Soliman*, as alreadie *Selim* had done to his father. Therefore shee vrged *Soliman*, and besought him with many and great teares that hee would take order therein, thereby to provide for his owne safetie. Now albeit in the beginning shee smallie preuailed, and that *Mustapha* had well discovered the crossebarres which shee ordinarily prepared for him, yet shee neuer ceased to continue, by the helpe of a Iew, a most renowned inchantresse, who hauing giuen vnto her certaine drugs, shee caused the amitie of *Soliman* to bee redoubled towards *Rozza*, so well, as she assured her selfe of a good euent at the last to her enterprises, albeit a delaie might bee for a time. Finally, after many practises, shee found meanes to suborne the gouernour of *Mustapha*, and caused him to write (though falsely) vnto *Soliman*, howe his sonne meant to take in marriage the daughter of the Kinge of Persia. This olde man moued by the continuall plaintes of *Rozza* and *Rostan*, easily gaue credite to these newes and false aduertisements, so as in the yeere 1552. hauing caused a bruite to runne of the Persians comming downe into Syria, hee sent *Rostan* thether with a puissant armie, for (vnder colour of going to meete with his enimies) to ceaze vpon *Mustapha*, and bring him prisoner to Constantinople, with expresse commaundement to kill him, if otherwise hee could not take him. But *Mustapha* aduertised of the whole matter, and howe that the Persians were not at all in the field, came towards him with seuen thousand men of the best experienced in the warres, which caused *Rostan* to make a quicke returne without dooing ought. Whereat *Soliman* beeing the more prouoked, the next yeere caused the same bruite agayne to runne, and how hauing leauied a great armie he meant to go himself in person agaynst the Persians. Beeing arriued in Syria, hee commanded his sonne to come vnto him to his campe. *Mustapha* knowing how it was him alone which they shot at, albeit hee was prayed and greatly solicited to auoide the furie of his Father, and retire himself into some other part, trusting in his owne innocencie, and thinking it a matter more commendable and worthie of his greatnesse, to die in obeying of his Father, than liuing, to incurre a note of infamie and treason, yea, though thereby hee, might gaine the Empire of the whole world: thinking in like sorte, that for that he neuer made anie refusal, by his owne presence hee might appeale the furie of his father went on his waie thether, but being entered within *Solimans* tent, hee was sodainly taken and strangled in his owne presence, after at the same instant, the Bassa his head of the Prouince of Amasia, was stroke off. This cruellie beeing come to the knowledge of *Giangir*, the crooke backe, one of the rest of the foure brothers, hee manfully reiect-ed the gifte and spoile which his father had presented vnto him, so that lamenting the death of his brother, he could not command himselfe, nor refrain from vttering these speeches.

Ha

Haerwell Traitor, I cannot say Father, take now to thy selfe the treasures, the Horses, the Tapistrie, and the Prouince of *Mustapha*, and gouerne it at thyne owne pleasure: could it fall into thy thought O infamous man! and without humanitye, to cause to dye against all lawe, so valiant a personage as neuer was nor neuer will be the like in all the house of Ottomans? Ha, ha, it shall not bee true, and I will take order, that thou shalt neuer bee able impudentlye to vaunte, that ever thou didst the like to me poore Crookebacke: and at the instant drawing out his dagger, hee stabbed himselfe so farre into the bodye, as hee fell downe starke dead, which being knowne to his Father, hee maruelously mourned, and notwithstanding he spared not to seafe of all his goods, which caused a great tumulte in *Mustapha* his Campe, but it was nothing in respect of that they did after they vnderstoode of his death. In such sorte as *Solyman* with great danger of his life, was constrained to banishe *Rostan*, and depriue him of all honors and dignities. This death fell out very fortunatelye for the Christians, to whome *Mustapha* was a fore enemye, and tooke singular pleasure in shedding of their blood: it was likewise taken so greuouslye of the Turkes, that from thence forth this prouerbe is growne among them, *Gietti Sultan Mustapha*, all is ended since that hee is dead, all is done whatsoeuer we thought of: for they imagined in their own fancie that it was he which should enlarge the bounds of their Empire in another manner of sorte then euer did his Ancestors, which they could not expect at the handes of any other.

Let vs handle againe the siege of Teroene.

The Emperour lying at Bruxelles, and being promptlye aduertised of the taking of Teroene, conceaued a verye great pleasure thereat, sweetening by the happe of this good fortune, the bitternesse of his former disgraces, so as throughout all the Countreyes of Flaunders, Arthois, and Henaute were scene great bonfyers. Afterwards he commanded that it should be razed and throwne down to the very foundations, to the end nought might rest but the place, where it might be sayd Teroene had bene. Afterwardes hee sent the Prince of Piemont his Nephewe Lieutenant generall in his armye, to quenche a sedition and a certaine enuye which the Princes and great Lordes bare to *Binecourt* a worthy Cheefe of these troupes. But such is the malice among men, that it was neuer, nor euer shall bee, but that enuye will bee among equalles, albeit that often tymes it maye lye disguised.

The King vnderstoode of these sorrowfull newes as soone as the Emperour, which at the instant seemed as strange vnto him, as any thing which they could haue made reporte of, considering how hee had before receiued an entire contentment of that furious assaulte which the French had so resolutely sustained: but being certified by diuers reportes how all the matter was handled, hee was greatlye grieved at the taking thereof, and much more bewayled his men, which he thought to be in a farre greater number dead, then afterwarde it was found to be. Now albeit that among the French the plainte was great, and the losse very preiudiciall, yet necessitye (the inuentresse and mistresse of all Artes) sharpening the wits of men to assay strange things, stirred vp the Kings spirit in a sorte, ioynte with the sorrowe and greefe of the losse, so that being aduertised how his enemies shortlye after this ruyne took their way, and prepared themselves to come and do as much at Hedin, he made ready all preparatiues to fortifie the same with men, and all thinges fitting to staye them shorte, or at the least vntill such a time as hee imagined his armye could be

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Teroene razed
to the foundati-
on by the Empe-
rours commaund-
ement.

The D. of Bouillon within Hedin, Lieutenant for the King.

Great diligence used by the Imperials to besiege Hedin.

Hedin besieged, battered, undermined, taken, and sacked by the Imperials.

in a readines; to the end to raise the siege and drive them into their owne Countrie. Now the D. of Bouillon Marshall of France, desirous more and more to perseuer in the K. service, had long time before vnderaken the defence of this Castle, to which would needes accompany him *Horace Farneze* D. of Castres; and the Earle of Villars, with a great number of other Lords, Gentlemen, and good Souldiers, who to make proofe of their courage, of their own accord presented themselves to this seruice, albeit that the K. stood in some doubt of the force and validitie of that place, and had no affection at all to expose thither such personages of such authoritie: they notwithstanding preferring an immortall renowne before their goods or liues, went to enclose themselves within this forte: to this very ende were dispatched couriers and commandements to the Captaines of the men of warre, to haue in readines all their companies, and as soone as it were possible to cause them to march and to render themselves neere Amyens, where the Constable was, hoping to assemble together there the Kings army, commissions were distributed to the Captaines of the Panterie, to make their leues as soone as they were able, and to those of the olde Englishes, and entertained companies to furnish them compleate, and wel armed to conduct them surely, and without plaints vnto the Rendezvous: there was also proclaimed throughout all the Realme, that the Rirebands according to their dutie and the Kings ordinance, should forthwith march and furnish themselves to the same place, afterwards they aduertised and besought the Zuizer cantons of the French league, to send to their succour a certaine number of footemen of their nation, the best armed and compleate that they could, according to the agreement between the Kings of Fraunce and them. The King in summe caused great diligence to be made, and commaunded that all thinges should be provided for the putting of his power into the fildes, where his enemies being aduertised and well assured, that if they did not employ that small time which they could get, (within which the Kings army might be made readye) so to purpose as they might enforce Hedin, hardly they should attaine to the cheefe of their enterprise, or retire without a battaile, or other peiudiciall accident: they aduanced with such diligence their affaires, that the Towne being voide of inhabitants, (who were fled and retired into France with whatsoever they could carry away of their goods) was in very short time taken by them, in respect it was not much defended by Souldiers, who shutte vp themselves within the Castle, esteeming it impregnable. There they planted on the one side one of their batteries, and the other towards the parke, and the greatest of all by the Towre Robin, where the French had already made theirs, but notwithstanding any resistance which they within besieged were able to make, they were not able to diuerse them. This Castle being little, which in al could contain but 2000. men, and that hardly hauing in times past bene builded by the Dukes of Burgondie, onely for the pleasure of hunting, & not to fortifie it in any fort, so not loosing one sole hower by day or night to batter it so furiously as was possible, they trauailed not onely to throwe it downe by their artillerie, but vndermined it so diuerslye and in so many places, that it was impossible that a Cony berry could haue mote holes and hollowes vnder the ground, then were vnder the foundations of this castle, all the countermines & secrets within being known & practised by many of the enemies, the place besides being very subiect to this imperfection. Now the enemies had already battered and digged downe the greatest parte of the parapete and rampire of the great breach, where a great number of valiant men remayned; and, alreadye giuen a false assaulte, when all the

all the dangers were declared to the D. of Bouillon, and withall the irrecoverable losse of so many braue men as were within so vile a place, the taking of Teroane seruing them for a fresh example, without comparision farre stronger then that Castle, wherefore of euerie side were proposed termes of composition, the which the Prince of Piemont willingly enough agreede vnto, standing assured how the chieftaines which defended that place were men of valour, and the souldiers full cunning at such an occupation, considering likewise that the time was very short to make any long temporising, curious besides to get good cheape, whereby afterwards he might the better employ his army to matter of greater consequence. But as the Gentlemen and Trumpeters went from the one side to the other, to resolute of the composition already in good forwardnes, nothing resting but the deliuerie of hostages on both sides, and the signing with the Princes hand, two misfortunes happened to the French: the one, that a Priest not wittingly as since it was knowne, but through lack of foresight or some secret malediction, set on fire such workes and preparations as they had made ready to abide the assault: the other, that the Bourgonians greedy of the pray, by the sweetenes which they found in the sacke of Teroane, gaue fire to the traines of their mines, fearing to be frustrate of so great a bootie as they expected: so as one parte of the Souldiers being burned and consumed in these fires, another swallowed vp and perished in this gulf of smoaking mines, the rest which were a very fewe astonied as if they had fallen from the cloudes, without daring to make any resistance, in respect they were forbidden to stirre from their places, or moue their weapons, attending the Princes signing and confirmation, were surprised and found themselves at the mercy of their enemies, before they euer thought them as yet to haue bene entred. The Prince of Piemont knowing this aduerture so happily fallen out for him and better then he hoped for, would not afterwards signe what he had before promised, forgetting all the precedents, through the ioy which he had for the recouering of that place, and the prisonners at so easie a rate. So as presently mounting vp the great breach, he entred the Castle to goe to the D. of Bouillon, who as soone as hee perceiued him, moued with an extreame choller, which made him forget all feare of death, said vnto him: why how now Sir, is this the keeping of your promise? will you not send such hostages vnto me as you promised, and perfourme what is agreede betweene you and me? to whom the Prince answered with a smile, sufficient testimony of his ioy, how that he had spoken too late, and how it was no more needfull to giue hostages when all his people were already within: In summe, that after many speeches the resolution was, that they should remaine prisonners, to wit, the D. of Bouillon cheefe and lieutenant for the K. *De Riou* Gouverneur, *La Lobe* Ensigne of the Dukes company, the Earle of Villars, *De Prie* Lieutenant of his company, *De Guenon* guidon, *De Vanze* Marshall of the lodgings, the Baron of Culan, *De Marets* Lieutenant of *De Riou* his company of foot, with sundry other, whome seeing by apparance to be of some mark, he would needes haue their names, and afterwards more raunfome then otherwise he had: so this Castle was againe recouered by the imperials the 18. of Iuly, after the death of *Horace Farneze* D. of Castres, whom a bullet of a great peece carried away, and hard by him *De Magny* a renowned gentleman in the feates of armes, there died also the Vicecount of Martigues, who being deliuered out of prison at Teroane, presently repaired to this castle, hauing alwaies spent his time in many honourable actions: *Moninville* of the house of *Amboise*, *de Cizeux* Comissioner of the wars, the C. *Lusignan* ensigne to *De Riou*, *De Dampierre*, who had likewise bene prisoner at Teroane, and came againe thither with the Seneschall of Castres, and

Horace Farneze D. of Castres, *De Magny*, the Vicecount of Martigues, *Moninville* Crieux, *Dampierre*, *Lusignan*, and others dead at Hedin.

Captaine *Vifargent*, who were sunke within the Mynes, the Captaine *Malestrot* Lieutenant to *Maugeron*, the Captaine *Morarque*, captaine of a company of footmen, and the Captaine *Cog* Ensignie of Captaine *Croff* his company of foot, were there slaine among the first in the bafe towne. The Emperour most ioyfull of the taking thereof, commanded that with all diligence they should cause the Castle to be razed, but K. *Henry* much more redoubled his former sorrow, being enforced notwithstanding to run to the most expedient remedy, albeit there was before no other bruze throughout all Fraunce, then leauying of men of warre, and all the waies couered ouer with Souldiers, he sent againe to hasten all his companies, and in as short time as was possible to make ready his army to hinder them from doing any other enterprife, thinking it sure that they would as they threatned to Dourlans (where the Vidafme of Chartres was) a Castle of lesse strength then Hedin, which the late King *Francis* had caused to be dressed vp with earth, to serue for a bulwarke and counterfort to Hedin, at such time as it was enemy: therefore on all sides postes flew about to sollicite this preparation. As touching the men of armes and French caualerie, they were by & by ready and on foote, as well in hauing bene placed in garrisons, as for the commoditie and leasure which was giuen to the men at armes, to looke for a little time into their domestick affaires. The French fanterie was likewise very glad to be ioyned together, the olde Ensignes being compleate in their garrisons, and places ordained, with such good order as the new captaines had set downe to make suddainly their leuies, and thorough the aduertisement which they had giuen to their Souldiers to be ready at the first warning, as for the Germanes and Lansknets, such as the K. had retained for his seruice, hauing alwaies bene entertained and paid were already in the fiede, so in very few daies and about the beginning of the moneth of August, the K. campe grew far greater & greater, about Amiens and Pequegnry, none remaining but the Zuizers and Grifons, who as well for abiding far of, as being of themselves heauy and massie, came but by smal iournies, especially to the end they might not be tyred, whē they should arriue at the campe, but be fresh and prompt to fight suddenly if need so required: therefore they arriued not before the end of that moneth: after the taking of Hedin all the time while the K. army assembled, the imperials did nothing els then raze it to the ground, and employ themselves to robberies, and burning of Villages all alongst the riuer of Authia: and albeit that they had summoned the Castle of *Crulan*, and spread a bruite that they ment to besiege it, they made no semblant thereof for all that, nor that they were willing to attempt any new matter, vntill about the 13. of that moneth, when, hauing had aduertisements how the Constable had caused 4. ensignes of the French fanterie, and 2. companies of light horse to passe ouer the riuer of Some, they determined with 4. regiments of their caualery to surpris, and defeat them so readily, that as they would haue executed the enterprife before that those which were about Amiens should be aduertised thereof: it fortuned that the Constable had addressed the same day another party to go visit them as farre as their owne Campe, *Paul Baptista* hauing commission to passe the riuer with 50. horse to attacke the skirmish, and draw the to fight, the D. of Neuers remaining in ambuscade, with 2. companies of light horse, in a wood vpon the banke of the riuer of Authia, who finding himselfe at any time to be ouermatched, had *Sanfac* to rescue him, who was behinde half a league of, with 5. other light cōpanies, the Prince of Conde was a quarter of a league on the right hand of him with 3. light cōpanies: likewise the Marshall of S. Andre with 500. men at armes, a mile farther behinde towards the campe, the constable being halfe way between al his companies and the riuer, accompanied with

The French army assembled neere Amiens and Pequegnry.

with 4000. horse, as wel of companies as Rifebands, and 20. ensignes of Fanterie, half French and halfe Lansknets, and 4. felds peecces, but easing the French of the paines to goe seeke them out, they approched neere the Marshall S. Andre, hauing left all their light Cauallerie behinde them, so as three hundred horsecouriers rushed euen vpon the Constable without discouering any of the ambuscades. Hereupon *Sanfac* his light Cauallerie began the skirmish neere to the Marshalls ambuscade, where the French were borne downe, and rudelye put backe euen to the hindmost man, so as they tooke two prisoners, who tolde them that the Constable was not about a quarter of a league of with all his forces, the which caused them to hasten to giue the charge vpon the companies of the D. of Vendosme and of *Sanfac*, who at the same instant was couered and charged by another thousand horse, and vpon this medley the Marshall began to march with a great trot right towards them, which quicklye stayed them, and by and by they discouered the Prince of Conde in ser battaile galloping to ioyne vpon them, whom as soone as they saw, they put themselves in such disarray, as being recharged onely with fiftie helmets, they were put to flight: for the Prince of Conde so roughly set vpon them, as he and his company pursued them a long League, where were slaine of theirs betweene 7. and 8. hundred men, among whome there was found of renowne the Earle *D'espinoi*, and other great Lordes of the low Countries, seauen as well Ensignes as Guidons gained, neere 500. prisoners in number, among whom the D. of *Alcot* was found. On the French part for men of reputation, the sonne of *Canaples*, and of *La Roche Guion*, and the Guidon of *Sanfac*, remained there prisoners, with some other souldiers, especially of the light caualery, not any great number either taken or slaine.

The D. of Alcot prisoner.

This reencounter so happily executed, greatly quailed the courage of the imperials, who since did no matter of importance, for incontinentlye after they departed from Beauquesne, where they were encamped, so as hauing razed the towre and the forte, they came by great iournies as farre as Antre & Miraumont, within 4. leagues of Peronne, French lands, where hauing put to the fire, and lodged ten Ensignes of their brauest men within Bapaume, thinking that according to the common bruite, the first fury of the French would be there discharged, without making any longer stay, the body of their army retyred towards Atras, which was not as then very great or puissant, for many of them especially of the borderers of Artois and Henaulte, retired to their owne houses, to gather together the best of their goods, and enclose it within strong townes, or hide it in sure and secret places, knowing that the Kings army was all compleate, and was to put into the fiede within a few dayes, the which in the end of August was assembled together neere to Corbie: and the first 10. September the Ensignes of Fraunce were displaid about the little towne with a mighty great number of men, the which the K. would needs see vpon a little mount, especially the Zuizers, how they set their battailes in such ordinance, as they carried on pike ouer many nations, a thing which maruelously was agreeable & pleasing vnto him: The Constable being generall of the army, and the first cheefe in the auantgarde, was accompanied with the Printes & Dukes of Vendosme, Neuers, Anguien, Montpensier, and the Admirall: each one of these Princes hauing a regiment of men at armes, which is of 200. men at armes, and ouer which they commanded 4. ensignes of French fanterie, making vp the number between 15. & 16000. men, of whom *Chastillon* Admirall of France was generall, the Earle *Reingraue* colonell of the Lansknets, with *Rifberg* had 4. regiments, which are 20. ensignes, making the nūber between 10. & 14000. men, foure Ensignes of Scots, and two of English, amounting betweene twelve

The French army in the field.

and fifteene hundred men. *Sansac* was the principall chiefe of the light Cavallerie, neere to two thousand horse, comprehending therein three or foure hundred English men, braue men, and well skilled in this occupacion. The nobles and rierbandes were compleat verie neere three thousand horse, whereof *La Taille* was generall, there were few of the particular companies of harguebuziers on horsebacke, for that the King had a little before made an ordinance therupon, to every Capitaine of one hundred men at armes, to leaue fiftie harguebuziers on horsebacke, armed with corslets, muttrions, vanbraces, or sleeues of maile, with an handgunne or harguebuzze, or a firelocke or cocke, within a case of well tanned leather, mounted vpon good curtailes, and vnto euerie one of fiftie, five and twentie in like equipage, conducted by a man at armes of the greatest experience, especially to that end to be chosen out of their own companie: all which made wel vp the number of twelue or fifteen hundred. A thing well inuented and by good counsell, to assist a man at armes in anie narrow or vncertaine place, and which gaue great countenance and grace to the armie, in beeing the first before the companies, together with the diuersitie of their apparell. In this battell was king *Henric* neere vnto him, the Prince of Ferrara, the Duke of Guise, the prince of La Roche-Suryon, and the marshall *Saint Andre*, euerie one of these principes hauing a regiment of men at armes as the rest. The great *Escuyer de Boisi*, and *Campes*, wyth their bandes of the royall house, and the guardes as well French and Scots, as Suizers, and a number of great Lordes and Gentlemen following the King, as well in respect of their fidelitie, as to make knowen vnto him their vertue and good will. Of all sortes of artillerie there was about one hundred great and small peeces, ouer which *Espre* was great master and chiefe gouernour, a Gentleman verie watchfull and of great spirite, for the first daie of this voyage the armie made no great treatie, in-camping that night a league of Corbie in two little villages, vpon a current and small riuer, beeing verie commodious for the same. The next morrow it followed almost the tracke and waie of the imperiall armie, to lodge at Miraumont, it happened that in they waie the Duke of Neuers slipped out of the armie with his regiment, taking the left hand towards the woods and Forrests, ouer agaynst Arras, where some scouters were discovered, who saued themselves by their swiftnesse within the thicke of those Forrests, which beeing well looked about, there was not one enimie found that made head, onely a fort within a litle village, which a litle after was forced by the harguebuziers, and found worse provided than they imagined. The which caused him to turne to Miraumont, to take his quarter. The second of Septemr the D. of Guise with two regiments of men at armes, betweene a thousand and twelue hundred horse as well of the light cavallerie as of the nobles, and ten Ensignes of French fantasie departed from the place, drawing thorough the rout of those woods towards Arras, to discover and cleere the most dangerous places, & subdue the forces of any which should be retired thither, but he found not ought which was hard vnto him, hauing discovered as far as the suburbs of Arras, so returning for a testimonie of this voyage, fire was set on all the villages round about, with a desolation and most lamentable noise. Now from Miraumont there were but two good leagues to Bapaulme, a strong place, barren more thorough the situation of nature, than anie workman ship, but much more odious and hurtful to the French bordering vpon it, than euer Tenonne was to the Bourgonians, so as secretly the better to know the place, and tempt the resolution of those that held it, the thirde of September the Constable with the most parte of the Princes, accompanied with five thousand horse, & as many of the French fanterie, went to view this place as neere as he was able, whereof *Hans* and a knight

A new ordinance of harguebuziers mounted.

Bapaulme represented.

was *Gouernour*, much esteemed of among the Bourgonians) furnished with ten or twelue Ensignes of Fantasies, and three or foure hundred horse, who at the first sight did not any waies shew himselfe sparing of powder and bullets, besides they within thewed themselves very slacke and loath to come out to the skirmish, but as fast as the Bullets of their artillerie might play, they kept a loofe off, and performed their dutie brauely enough almost foure houres, while the skirmish lasted. In these fight reencounters there were hurt the Capitaine *Brawl* with a Harquebuzze shotte in the thigh, and yong *Molimon* Sonne to *Molimon* the Gouernor of Saint Dizier and of Nogent, who afterwards dyed at Peronne: during the skirmish the Admiral with a smal company went round about the place, and found it pregnable, the rampier beeing of bad stufte, and the fastening wherewith it was made but a thinne crumpled sand, which is no good earth. But the greatest difficultie of all was the remedie necessary of water, albeit that the Constable had caused a great number of Pioners to seeke out Conduit heads and springs, but no vaines of any lasting could be found out, so the determination of the siege was broke of and put ouer vntill another time: during this lingering there arriued at the Court the Cardinall of Saint George, beeing a Legate from the Pope to treat of a peace or truce betweene these two Princes. At their departure hence, all the Villages, Abbaies and mansion places appertaining to the enemy, not so much as sparing the windmilles neere to the gates of Bapaulme, being partly consumed, and the rest as yet of a flame and smoking, the ground and waies grew so durty and slipperie, by reason of a whole day and nights raine, that the Souldiers and footmen could hardly get to their other lodging, named Morlincourt within two small leagues of Peronne: and the waggons and baggage sustained no lesse, whereof as well the garrison of Bapaulme, as the rest of the Pefantes about got good booties, spoyling the most scattered and worst voluoyed sorte of them: the imperiall armie in the meane time coasted them within five or sixe leagues, hauing the riuer as a barre and separation betweene them, albeit it was farre lesse then the French, for first euen at the nose of the imperiall Campe, the French went and burned and set fire on the Villages next vnto them, in respect of the fewe alarmes which they gaue vnto the French, except it were sometimes vpon their vallets and fouragers, the which they rather supposed grew by the spoyled and desperate Pefantes, then by the men of warre: and lesse hurt was done to the victuals & prouisions brought into their Campe, all victuals being at a competent rate in the middest of an enemies Countie, where they found nought but Granges voide of Corne and fourage, all sorte of victuals being already transported and withdrawn into the strong holdes. The which being come vnto the Kings knowledge, and sufficiently foreseeing that his enemy hoped and attended nought els then to make him temporise about some towne or other enterprise of small consequence, to draw him on vntill the season of raynes, which beginneth soone enough in the colde and occidentall Countie, to the end to enfeeble and weaken him, as well in cutting of all his victuals, as by diseases and coldes, afterwards to give him battaile vpon his aduantages, concluded with his Countie to give remedy thereto. The resolution then was to reduce his enemy into two extremities, the one of which he perswaded himselfe was vnpossible for him to shunne, and perhaps yeeld to them both: either to hold his forces close together for the meeting of a battaile, or to seperate them for the defence of so many of his places, vncertaine which of them all should be first attempted by the King, considering the secret of his deffail, and the variable turning of his army, without any apparent resolution of the place whether it would turne head, vpon which perswading him

The deffail of Charles 5. Emperour against the French.

himselfe of the aduantage of the first, and that the Emperour durst not hazard a generall combate, considering he had not so many men as himselfe, and that they were more then halfe tired with the long time that they had remained in the fildes, hee thoroughly resolu'd to get by force, sleight, or any other meane: the first place hee should attempt, and to sacke it, and ruine the whole countrie about in the eye of the Maister, and so to returne in triumph, as hauing braued and caused him to refuse the day in his owne Countrie, and whereof he had vaunted himselfe to be the first challenger. Charles on the other side measuring his aduantage rather by the valour then number of his people, supplying otherwise the long wearisomnes of these traualles of warre, by discretion of well choosing his aduantage, rather then to accept of bataille, no lesse assured himselfe to make vaine the attempts of the French in any place which they should goe about to besiege, alwaies provided that his would haue the patience to suffer the first heate of the French, a little to evaporate as into smoake, knowing that Henry notwithstanding the better to preuaile therein, made account to found Cambray, as well for that the taking thereof would be an example to sundrye other of renowne, as thinking to prouoke the imperials rather to bataille, then that they would lose such a place, in which especially he knew his owne credite not to be so deeply rooted, but that for a small matter the inhabitants would shake of the yoke which not long before he had imposed of them: ioyne that the towne hauing bene alwaies Neuters, such occurrents might so happen, as he might make it partaker with him, or at the least fauourable, if they would assit to the recouering of their auncient liberty, considering that in terming it selfe Neuter, it was not lawfull for him to haue any greater authoritie ouer it then the King, and the rather for that the magistrates and popular sorte began to feele them selues outraged by the usurpation which he had made ouer them (hauing proceeded so farre to his own aduantage, as to build a citadell to keep them in subiection) he feared least they would euen make plaine ouerture to the King, being as then the stronger. In summe, if the Imperials shewed themselves of good courage, the French caused no other brute to runne, but of the desire they had to bataille, and how the King sought no other occasion then such as the place and time yeelded vnto him: to wit, being there at hand in so large and spacious a plaine, to present bataille, or to summon the Towne according to the accord of neutralitie, to make him ouerture, and giue him victuall, or proclaime it as his enemy: and so not farre from that place neere to Peronne, the French were encamped at two little leagues from Cambray. And the next morning by break of day the King caused his army to be set in order of bataille ready to fight, sending a herald of armes to summon the towne of her duty, signifying vnto them that he was not come thither to oppresse them, but rather to restore and sente them in their auncient liberty, which he well knew had bene already corrupted by the Emperours, of which they would be reuenged and leaue that bondage, they could not haue better means then by his coming, that if the Emperour would quarrell for other aduantages, hee was therein person both to declare, and fight with all his forces, to the contrary, if they did otherwise, they would be an occasion of much mischief to themselves; first in losing the title and priuiledge of being called Neuters, which is not assecurate to either the one or the others quarrels, by which means they had onely obtained the liberty to be able to traffique in both their Countries. Moreover they should thereby exempt their Countrie round about from the mieries of the wars, otherwise they should remaine for euer subiect to imposts, loanes, subsidies, and all other manner of exactions, and be besides in danger to be partaker of the sundry traualles where-

whereto a particular Country is abandoned and accustomed to suffer for his Prince. In summe they demanded twise foure and twenty houres of the King to be adiudged thereof, and to yeelde their answer, so the King caused his Campe to retire a great league further backe, being lodged at Creuæcœur, of the appertences of the Queene, and it was proclaimed throughout the whole armye, that vpon a great paine of corporall punishment no man should dare take ought within the territorye of Cambray without paying for the same. During this delay the Emperours partye within Cambray certified him of this summons, as then lying at Bruxelles, who to comforte and releue them with hope and courage, set downe many thinges vnto them: among the rest that they helde of the Chamber of the Empire, and that hee was the Emperour to defend and protect them, not a King of Fraunce who sought nothing but their ruine; so as hauing set before their eyes the example of Metz, hee promised the deputies that in case they should be besieged, hee would succour them by all means whatsoeuer. And from thence gaue order to the Prince of Piemont, who was gotten with his army towards Valenciennes, that hee should yeelde vnto them as much succour as they would demaund, or well needfull for them, ordaining thereto for cheefe and principall Gouvernours the Earls of Bössu and Brabançon. The time of delay being expired, albeit the King knew well all these newes, yet hee sent againe to summon them to knowe their resolution, but they sent worde that if it might so please his Maiestie they were all content to remaine his humble neighbors and frends, no waies refusing to giue him victuall, but that as yet they were not masters ouer their owne goods, for that the Emperour spight of their teeth had put men and great garrisons into their towne, wherefore it was cleane out of their libertie and power to be able to dispose of any more. Vpon this answer and mylde excuse the towne was adiudged for enemy, and the same day being the eight of September, the Constable with two regiments of men at armes, and 3. or 400. light horse and Rirebands, followed by the Admirall with ten Ensigns of French fantery, went to prie and view round about, but in steede of hearing the crowing of Poultrie before, now nothing was heard but Cannons, harquebuzes shot, and noyse of all partes, especially from the cytadell, which made the earth to tremble with the artillerie shot, where-with they played vpon the French souldiers, entring therewith as thicke out of the Towne as waspes vse out of the hole of a tree after him that stirreth them: but so maintained and the skirmishes so gallantly handled, that they continued fixe whole dayes together, in one of which there was killed *De Bresé* captain of one of the French guardes, and before the Cytaell *Cornet* was slaine, Capitaine of one of the companies of the French footmen. Of the Bourgonians there was of reputation taken and brought prisoner the Earle of Pondeuaux of the French Countie, *De Trelon* of the Duchie of Luxembourg, and other. In the meane time *Bourdillon* sent vnto the King by *Newuy* Ensigne of his companie, two Cornets of Bourgonians, broken and defeated at La Hiette, neere to Maubert Fontaine, the Gouvernour of Cimetz, one of their cheefe remaining there prisoner, the Bastard of *Ananes* another of their cheefe leaders by his good speede and well flying, sauing himselfe. Now to returne before Cambray, it was perfectly viewed and by the aduise of such as had marked round about from the one end to the other, ioyne the report of the spies and such as likewise had viewed it within, found to be as much subiect to the Cannon & mine as any place might be: it is a great towne, situate halfe in a bottome, and halfe hanging, where there is not any shew of Bulwarkes, Rampiers, or fortifications according to the new fashion. On the side of Fraunce and the East, it is in a champion and arable

Their answer
of Cambray to
the King.

Skirmishes be-
fore Cambray.

Description
of the towne of
Cambray.

This towne of
Cambay was
euer counted of
the K. of France,
but neuer able
to be reduced to
the Flower de
lice, vntill Fran-
cis D. of Bran-
bant, Aniou, and
Sonne of France,
and onely bro-
ther to the King,
had by siege ta-
ken the same,
and so annexed
by his prowes
at this day to
the Crowne of
Fraunce,
The Citadell of
Cambay.

Feeble places
ought not so
much as to offer
to holde out a-
gainst an army
bringing canon.

ble Countie, discouered well eight hundred or a thousand paces in breadth, not so plaine notwithstanding but there is a little descent still vnto the Towne hauing certaine small bottomes and barricades betweene both, but I call it plaine for that it is not ouershadowed with trees, nor thornes, nor other places hindring the prospect; on the west side where it is most lowe and the suburbs lye, there are gardens and groues of willowes, with some medowe and marhe. Southwards there is a little hanging plaine towards the Towne, and a little further there are little hilles and v. lyes, on the North side is a little Mountaine which taketh parte of the coigns of the citadell mounted ouer the highest parte of the whole towne, where there was wont to be an Abbey or Cathedral Church, almost square, notwithstanding one of the coigns stretcheth more towards that little mountaine, then any part of the rest, resembling a coyne in forme of a spurre, seruing for a defence to the flankers with a platforme. As touching the situation and foundation of the Citadell, one would iudge it at the first apparance white earth, as marle, if it were stone within, I would thinke it tender and easie to be hewen, as you see ascler whereof some houles are builded, but it is rather a white chalke then a hard stone, so as some holde that it was rather builded to holde the newter towne in subiection, then to make an impregnable fortresse for being ioyned to the Towne as it is, it were needfull to fortessie it, the one to succour the other, by reason that the towne being taken would endemmise the Citadell, which also being forced would be the cause of the losse of the Towne: but the Emperour partly in consideration that this great towne would hardly be fortified, or at the least not of a great and long time, and partly for that he would not oppresse the inhabitants with suddaine surcharges, first builded this little citadell, to set one foot within, and to be meet with the mutynies & rebellions of the citizens, to the end that by little and little he might make himselfe maister of the whole. Therefore they helde out thorough the hope of a great number of men sent vnto them, furnished with victuals, munitions and all other necessities: besides the Imperiall army which fortified it selfe neer vnto them, to cut off victuals, and annoy as much as might be the French: and lastly the raines which euer begin at that season in those low Countries, so great presumptions had they to recouer the siege, for besides the diuers alarms which they gaue vnto them, with continuall and hot skirmishes, they sent out of the campe part of the field peeces, and caused it to be giuen out, that there were farre greater coming from Amiens, Corbie, S. Quentin, and Castelet, a great number of Gabions being already prepared, and sleddes made ready to draw them to those places where the approaches should be made, so farre as the Marshals of the Campe went to marke and viewe the situation, the better to order their quarters: notwithstanding the counsell had no such intention, but to the end that still holding them in this iolirye and opinion, they might breake and consume the Imperials by little and little, who for that cause had more enlarged and seperated themselves: wherefore without any longer delay, all the fortes round about being throwne downe and ruined, euen to the very Churches, the Towers and Steeples being vndermined and battered, and fire put to all the Villages, Granges, and cotages, euen to the very suburbs and gates of the towne, the French dislodged marching straight to the castle of Cambresy. In the waye there were two fortes taken and ruined, obstinate vpon very small reason, whereby they well felte the effect of the conquerers choler. The first endured fixe and thirtie Cannon shot, and a great and wide breach before it would yeelde, where the Captaine *Pierre-longue* was slaine, and twelue French Souldiers slaine and hurt, notwithstanding there was not one liuing soule found within, hauing coueied the-
selves

selves vnder ground, and hidden in some caues and mines, therefore they stopped close all the ventres which they were able to finde. The other was not so strong as the first, for that it was but a skurue poulier of earth hanging houelwise to the halfe of a great towre, with drye ditches, where they within standing very obstinately to their defence, notwithstanding any summons, made aboade two shot of the lesser forte, after which hauing answered that they would not yeelde without sight of the Canon, they made a signe to yeelde, but it was too late, for the Souldiers not as yet colde of their first furie, neuer stayed so long as the once discharging of a Canon, but rushed in as madde men to beate downe the gates, where afterwarde it was great pittie to beholde the slaughter which was there made, for there was not so much as one man taken to mercye: the battaile lay encamped round about the Castle of Cambresy, without suffering any bodye to goe in sauing one Ensigne, the which was lodged there to repell other, if they should goe about to make any stirre: for the inhabitants were in great doubt what should befall them. His Maiestie and the most parte of the Princes and great Lordes was lodged in a sumptuous house of pleasure neere hand, which appertained to the Bishop of Cambay, where in stead of being reuenged of the burning of his Castle of Foullembray, which was done by *Du Reux* a kinsman of the B. he not onely straitely forbad they should not set it on fire, but that nothing should be carried thence or spoyled. A little aboue the riuer the Constable remained with the Vantgarde. Now all these boutes and deuises were but to marke the enemies countenance, for the French being aduertised that they stirred in no sorte of the worlde to followe them, without any alarme, or semblance to come vpon them, hauing sojourned a whole day in that place, descended downe to Quesnoy, approaching within two leagues of Valenciennes, where the imperial army was imparqued within a forte which they had there addressed. The next morning the 17. of September the baggage remaining in that place, and one hundred men at armes with about 2000. foote for their garde, the rest of the army advanced forward to seeke out the imperials, and to present them battaile. Their forte was about a Culuerin shotte distant from Valenciennes, vpon the same Riuer of Lescan which passeth along by Cambay, compassed in forme of a square, enuironed with trenches and diches of a Pikes length, and betweene 10. or 12. foote hollow, seated halfe on the hanging of the hill towards Valenciennes, and halfe in the bottome along the Riuer, hauing on the side of the French a little hillock which went sloping euen to the forte: besides that it was very proper to place there the artillerie, and shot leuell into the fort, with great discomforts, therefore euen as the army marched their ordinary pace in battaile, the auante couriers and light horse rushing before to attack the skirmish, found a great number of their Cauallerie already in order of battaile vpon the little hillock ready for the Combate. And hard by they tooke one of the Countie on Horseback in habite of a Marchant, some iudging him to be a spie, who certified them that the auantgarde of the Imperials had passed the riuer to come to fight with them, so as being brought vnto the Constable, and from him sent vnto the K. hee was the cause of the aduancing forward of the army, and with as much speede as might be ordering of the battailes in their places. In the meane time the skirmish grew warme, thorough the fallie of a number of the imperiall fantassins, which greatly annoyed the lost children, without any stirring of their men at armes at all, who kept themselves a little aboue them, sauing such as sometimes went out of their ranckes to breake a Lance where they saw their opportunitie against the French, light horse encamped front to front. During these skirmishes the Imperiall army ranged it selfe, part into
one

Representation
of the Imperial
forte.

one onely square battaile within the forte, and the rest was deuided by the flankers, especially the Harquebuze shot, in the same manner as they vse at the assault of a Town. The artillery was planted one part vpon mounts of earth, which drew about the hillock that I saide was one the side of the French, and the rest was disposed as well to scoure the defences, as all along the trenches. The ordering of the French army was in this forte.

The order of the French army hoping to gaine the battaile neer Valenciennes.

In the Vantgarde were two square battailes, on the right hand whereof were 24. French Ensignes, among which was the Constable, the D. of Mompensier, and the Admirall with their Regiments of Demilances, which was six hundred men at armes to each one, and a little belowe a partie of the nobles, and somewhat higher all their Harquebusiers on horsebacke: that on the lefte hand was of 19. Ensignes of Lansknets, there was in this wing the Princes, and the D. of Vendosme, of Neuers, of Anguien, with the like number of men at armes as the right, and a party of the nobles a little more backward, with their men of ordinances, then the Constables were to conuer a little hill which was on their left hand, and the Harquebusiers more forward, neere vnto a little Village which was burned, to keepe that the enemy should not so much as creepe on all foure by that way, without being espied. In the battaile were two other square battailons, that on the right side was of the olde Ensignes, in number 25. In this wing was the King with his whole housholde and gardes, and the Marshall of S. Andre with his Regiment of men at armes, on the left side were of the Swizers and Grifons 30. Ensignes, the most parte armed with corselettes, vambraces, tases, and the best furnished that of long time hath come into France. In this wing were the Prince of Ferrara, the D. of Guise, the Prince of La Roche sur-yon with their Regiments of demilances, eche one 600. men at armes, the Captaines *Adonius & Eward*, two of the most ancient and best experimented, had the leading of the lost children. Now for so much as the fiede was very fit, plaine and champion neer hand a great league, the whole was so equally handled, that it hung with one same weight and measure, especially the spaces which remained betwene the battailons of the footemen, and the ranks of the men at armes were so well compassed, that it seemed vnpossible to the French, (without some very great defastere) that any harme at all should happen vnto them: for to begin with the battailons of the footemen. The order whereof was so well established, as that the author seemed to take the inuention thereof from the practise of the Romanes, that if the first ranks were at any time put backe, they should retire into the second, and the first and second into the third, so might they three times resemble and fight vnto the very last, each battaillon hauing his flankers of pikes and harquebusiers which were able to make head in all places, and succour as well the horsemen, as the core of their battailons: The whole was so well armed and couered, that when the Sunne had shone, you would haue iudged all those troupes to haue bene heapes of Siluer. As for the horsemen each regiment extended farre, so as there were alwaies 200. men at armes in a front, and their suite of Archers at their backe all along, in such sorte as if a man at armes had bene overthrowne, the second had straight stept into his place, so as they had al meanes to fight euen to the very last. The Ensignes of the men at armes were in the midst, and the Guidons in the midst of the ranke of the Archers: as touching the light caualery, it was deuided into foure squadrons, that of the vancourriers which was at the skirmish was led by *Paul, Baptista* and *Sanjac* kept the other in ambush within a little hollow, on the hanging of a small mountaine on the left hand, the Prince of Nemours had an other behinde a little hill betwene the army and the forte of the imperiales and

An inuention of the French so to order, as all their troupes in one day should fight in battaile, taken from the ancient Romanes.

And the prince of Condelay in ambush with his in a little bottome al along the high way to the Towne, to stoppe the passage that way. Touching the artillerie, that of the vanguard was vpon the front of the right wing, and that of the battaile vpon the hanging of a little hillock, on the lefte hand of the Zuizers and Grifons, who had already made an end of their ceremonies, with intention to fight and dye euen to the very last man, before they would make one false pointe. Now besides that the assistance of so many men was able enough to put courage into the most faint harted, the presence of their King set them a gog much more, who being accompanied with a great traine of Princes and other great Lords, went notwithstanding to visite and encourage such as had any neede, with so sweete and amiable language, stirred vp with such vehemency and affection, that eche one seemed most willing to dye for his seruice. Now his whole army being thus ranged in order of battaile, and the skirmish growing more and more eager on the one parte and the other, the Imperiall caualery stood still, and seemed euer ready to aluents vpon the little hillock. And so were they attending their comming more then three long houres, a brute of their comming flying vp and downe so long among the French, that night at the last approached. In the end the Constable foreseeing that they cunninglye delayed vntill the night grew darke, either to surprise or put them out of order, aduised the light Caualery to ioine together to seeke out the height of the Imperiall Caualerie. The which was readilye executed, but with such a cheerefulness and dexterity, that they beate them backe, and liuelye droue them in lesse then nothing, euen to the very boorde of their Trenches, causing them almost all to fall huddle vpon one anothers tayle into them; where of the French side of reputation was slaine *Iouis* a gentleman of the Duchie of Bourgondie, hauing bene brought vp of a Page in the Kings house: it was then that their artillerie, as well that of the flankers, as that which was vpon the mountes of earth, began to play their prise, the which killed some, and hurte more of the French then were found to haue bene hurte by any handstrokes. Among the rest there was slaine the Captaine *Steph* an Italian Gentleman, Lieutenant of the companies of light horse to the Captaine *Senetaire*, and *De Ferriere* Lieutenant of the companies of light horse to *Giury* of the hoase of Estanges. This bickering endured for all that more then a long houre, whereon the French parte there was slayne of horse and foote about one hundred men, so as when the retraite was sounded the Sunne was alreadye set, and the night closed in. Now had the Councell long debated, whether they should assaile them euen within their owne forte or no, considering the good happe of their first charge. But the better parte were of opinion that they were rather to content themselves, in that they had alreadye done them so great shame in their own Countrye, as not onely to haue executed a parte of their Princes will, but to haue presented vnto them the battaile, which they still threatned to doe from the beginning, and now coldely enough and with a slender excuse had refused. Their reasons not to attempt any further were; first that the French Souldiers were growne wearye and faynte, as well with marching as with the weight of their armour, contrariwise the enemies were fresh and repored, not hauing for certayne dayes together runne the fiede. That the Countrie was theirs, and their proper enheritance, which would encourage them to fight the more courageously. Ioynt that considering the situation of the place, they could not be assailed but to their great aduantage, as the battaile of Poitiers and La Bicoique might well serue for example. Likewise that the French were not onely to fight at the first forte, from which though it were

How the artillery was ordered and disposed.

The K. presence giueth great encouragement to the Souldiers.

The charge of the French Caualerie.

Consultation whether the enemies were to be assailed within their own forte or no.

N.

lost,

lost, the Imperials might easily retire into the towne, ready to begin a fresh, especially when they should be able to doe both the one and the other, the French should be sure to be the first which should take all the paine and hazard of the enterprise, a good parte of them leste behinde in gage, if not all, as well for that it is not the propertie or nature of a Zuizer or Lansket, to assaile a towne or fortresse, as in that they are not otherwise so affectionate or enclined as subiects are to their Prince, whereby if it should so happen that the K. should be in an enemies Countrey, vnfurnished of the better parte of his forces, it were to be feared that many mischeefes would ensue, according to the vncertain occurrence of feates of armes. And therefore it was concluded that it was far better to retire with honor, then to hazard ought vnder the hope of an vncertain & aduenterous good luck, so they placed againe the battailons of fanterie in single ordinance: afterwards they returned to the place where their baggage was lost, the Constable with all the Demilances and Cauallerie of the vanguard, was the last which departed to see if they would play the waggies in the end, and set vpon them behinde, which they neuer once offered; so as by the light of the fires which burned the Farmes and villages for three leagues round about, the French in the end found their first lodging, where at night it was proposed in counsell by some Lords, that there was very great meanes and occasion offered to returne againe to seek out the enemye, to fight with them, and enforce them within their owne forte, for that by the reporte of some prisonners which were newlye come thither, it was not of so great defence as it was adiudged: assuring that on the South side in the bottome by the riuier it was very weake, and that there their trench was not perfired nor fure foot the high, that there would be meanes enough to pitch and order the batailles, and to make it be assailed by the lost children, whilst the artillerye planted vpon the hillockes of the flanker should shoote leuell in. The which would either make the to come out in disorder and so quit the place, or suffer themselves to become a deadly marke to so many Cannon shot, as would shoure downe vpon them. But albeit that this aduice was at the first allowed for sound, yet after that the olde and experienced Capitaines, had deliuered their minde, and spoke as they thought good, they found that the latter opinion was the more sure: following which, after one dayes abode to refresh themselves, the army retired towards the castle of Cambresy, where likewise the French remained another daye, without setting fire either on that sayre house, or the towne, onely all the victuals within were taken out, for that the enemies should not be releued therewith. Afterwardes they retired as farre as Fonsonne, two small leagues from S. Quentin: and there was the army dissolued about the 20. of September, for the Zuizers well paid and contented, had leaue to retire into their owne Countrey, and parte of the Garrisons was put all along the frontiers, and the rest sent home to the gouernement of their Capitaines: as much was done with all the Nobles and riribands. The other parte of the Demilances and light Cauallerie, with the olde Ensignes and the Almanes, were retyred and assembled at Auchy, with the olde Ensignes and the Almanes, were retyred and assembled at Auchy to Chasteau below Hedin, & led very shortly after by the Marshal S. Andre towards the Countye of S. Pol to destroy it vtterly, and to waste and ruine for euer, as well the Countye of Hedin, as the Countye of Ponthieu, and all the rest of the countrey of Arthois, which was put in execution by him in the very viewe of his enemies, without any resistance, remaining stil superiour, with such fury and desolation, that there was not so much as the poor shepheards cottages or houels spared, but the whol country set on fire, & ashes round about Aire, S. Omer, Lislars & Perne, the castle wherof was by force taken, & about 50. spanish souldiers slain & hewen in peeces.

Thus

Retraite of the French.

Retrait & departure of the French army.

The Marshall. S. Andre sent with part of the army to recouer the Countye of S. Pol.

Thus was the voyage of the French armye, more remarquable for fires, ruynes, sackings, and all other sorte of deuolations, by th'exemple: and in reuenge of the Hannuyers and Bourgonians ouer France, then for any trickie of notable vertue, sauing a braue skirmish which the Vidame of Chartres made before Lislars, with fifteene Ensignes of French Fanterie, and almost two thousand horse, against nineteene Ensignes of the Spanish Fanterie which lay encamped about the little towne, for that the inhabitants had shutte the gates vpon them, fearing to be sacked by them as their neighbours had beene. The skirmish lasted almost a whole day, eche partye being obstinate to the gaining of the victory, which after a long hazard & vncertaine combat, remained to the French, very few of them being either dead or hurt, but many more of the Spaniards, whereof in like sort diuers were brought away prisoners. After all this coyle the French returned to Anchy, and about Hedin, where the Almanes were put in garrison, the bayliwick whereof was giuen by the King to the Count Reingraue. In summe towards the end of the moneth of October, some companies as well of the French Fanterie, as light cauallerie being cast, the rest were deuided and put into garrisons, to passe ouer the winter which drew on.

Count Reink Graue.

In the meane time the Emperour proceeded on to pursue a marriage betweene his son the K. of Spaine, and the infant Mary new Q. of England, with such earnestnes, as he forgot nothing which might serue to the consummation thereof; seing himselfe almost out of all hope to haue succour elswhere, or recouering of any monie at neerer hand: which many of that Realme sought to hinder foreseeing an immortal warre with the French, which was prepared for them by this meanes; remembering well the losses and damage which they had alreadye sustained, in hauing vpholden the warre against this nation, from whence the Countrey of England reaped great commodities. Notwithstanding so much auayled the perswasions of the Emperour, with the instigation of the two Queenes Mary and Elenor, and about all the inductions of Cardinall Pole cousin to the Q. that she being cleane rauished with this new loue, and with the ambition to see her selfe wife to the Sonne of an Emperour, the better to assure her estate against the reformed and other malcontents, in spite of the aduise and liking of the greatest of her Realme, keeping her sister Elizabeth likewise a prisoner, consented to this marriage. Afterwards with as much speed as was possible he affianced by Proctor (which was the Earle of Aiguemont) Philip K. of Spaine hoping shortlye after to perfite and consumate the ouerplus. The K. knowing that all these things tended to no other end, but cheefely to endamage and annoy him, made a great masse of monie, calling such to his aide and succour, as he knew were most obedient and faithfull vnto him, and as hee thought best able to aide and do him seruice.

A marriage treated between the K. of Spaine, and the infant Mary new Q. of England.

Pope Iuliy to the end to pacifie these great troubles of Christendome, had sent the Cardinall of England to mediate a peace betweene the King and the Emperour, for you must vnderstand that vpon the pursute of the warres of these two Princes, Pope Iuliy seeing all Europe as it were much moued with the feare of mischeefes which was likely to ensue to euery Countrey, by reason of the particular quarrels of these two Monarcks, with a secret remorse and gnawing of conscience, for himselfe had beene the Author, had sent the Cardinall of England his Legate to the King and the Emperour, to aduise, and by all meanes to vnite, and cause them to condescend to a good peace: in which he employed himselfe so vertuously, that laying aside all ambition, or feare of hatred, or other considerations, he neuer ceased to lay

Cardinal Pole sent to treat a peace between the K. and the Emperour.

before them the infinite miseries wherewith the poore Christian people were afflicted, together with the vncertaintye and miserable estate, wherunto the Catholicke Church by their dissensions was reduced. And albeit that many accounted him to fauour the Emperour more then the King, yet hee seemed to haue so well managed their hartes, that the hope of a peace was alreadye common thorough out Fraunce, and quarters neighbouring about: yea so great that the poore borderers of the one and other Lord, perswading themselves thereof, so assured themselves by little and little, that they reedified and began to reinhabite their cottages and small tenementes, as yet besmoaked with the fire, wherewith they had beene burned to ashes, so farre as euery man promised vnto himselfe a happy repose, if it would please God to mollifie the harts of these two great Princes. But euen as all the tokens of *Moses* and *Aaron* hardened the more the obstinate courage of *Pharaoh*, to the end afterwards to make the great wonders of the Lord to appeare: so this great God, not yet satisfied and content with so small a punishment for our enormous sinnes, would not permit vnto them the vnderstanding to receaue a good and assured peace, for the ease and repose of all Christendome: wherfore the Legate after many trottings to and fro of each side, returned very sorrowfull vnto the Pope, leauing in the harts of these two Princes, this so inueterate an enmitie, whereof the clamors could not so soone mortifie the effects.

The Queene was deliuered at Fontaine-bleau about nine of the clocke and three quarters past in the morning, the eighteenth of March 1554. of a sonne named *Heracles* by *Charles* Cardinall of Lorraine, *Anne de Montmorency* Constable, and the Duchesse of Guyse daughter to the D. of Ferrara: afterwards leauing that name he was called *Francis* D. of Alencon, and of Aniou.

In the meane space and about the first of the spring there arose a certaine brute of a warre at hand betweene these Princes, and much furniture and weapons were dispersed, whereby they might bee polished and made readye to the seruice, afterwards to be mustered, as soone as the same was spread throughout France, how the Emperour had prepared a great leauye of men of warre, and all other sortes of prouisions, towards the Countries of Liege and Ardennes, with intent to besiege the Towne of Mefieres, hauing established Mariembourg and Auanes, as store places and markets to his armye, so as *Bourdillon* who then was at the Courte, was presently sent back to fortifie & strengthen this little Towne, with whatsoeuer should be necessary to attend their comming. On the other side the K. foreseeing the Emperours determination and intent, made all meanes to assemble his forces, to the end to meet him and preuent him of this small enterprize, hauing sent sufficient enough of succour into Piemont and Italye, thereby to pursue and continue such good beginning, as fortune in that parte had presented vnto him. Besides hee dispatched Captaines and commissioners to bring him men of warre as well out of Germany as from those Cantons of Zuizers as were his confederates. This was about the ende and issue of the Spring, when as the Sunne rayfing him selfe high, to send among vs his great heates, burned and consumed the fruites of the earth, with so strange a drouthe, that together with the long trauayle of the warre the poore people expected nought els to the aggravating of their miseries, then a great and mortall famine for the heape of all theyr pouertyes, which notwithstanding came not to passe, and so certaine dayes passed ouer, that the King seeing all his forces readye, albeit that his enemy made semblaunce of nought else

Birth of Mount-
See.

els, then busied in the consummation of his sonnes marriage, determined to aduance forward, and by the same place that he was threatened to be assailed, to assaye him, and enter within his Countreys: To this end he assembled his forces and deuided them into three, to wit, in Pickardy about Saint Quintin, vnder the Prince of La Roche Sur-yon, in the Valley of Laon, towards Grece vnder the Constable, and at Mefieres vnder the Duke of Niernois. Vnder the Prince of La Roche Sur-yon, might be nine or ten thousand footmen, the most parte Picardes, and the rest of the olde Ensignes, with three hundred men at armes, and five or sixe hundred horse, and Harquebuziers on horseback. Vnder the Constable were five and twentye Ensignes of French fanterie new and olde, two Regiments of Germanes of the Count *Reingraue* and *Reisberg*, and five and twenty Ensignes of Zuizers, with foure hundred men at armes, and neere eightene hundred or two thousand as well light horse as Harquebuziers on horseback, whereof the Duke *D'Aumale* was Generall, a little before come out of prison, and almost as many nobles in the Rireband, vnder *La Taille* their General, there were also some companies of English and Scottish Caualerye. The D. of Niernois had twentye olde Ensignes of French Fanterie, drawne from the garrisons of Metz, Verdun, Thoul, d'Anuille, Yuoy, and Montmedy, (comprehending therein foure English and Scottish Ensignes) in place of which other new were put in, two Regiments of the Count *Rokenolphe*, and of the Baron of Frontenay, three hundred men at armes, neere eight hundred light horse and Harquebuziers on horseback, whereof the Prince of Conde was generall, and two hundred pistoliers Germanes. The army then being thus deuided in three diuers places, to the end to holde the enemy in doubt of what they had deliberated to execute, and on which side they wold surprise him, the French entred by three seueral places into his Country. The Prince of La Roche Sur-yon hauing passed the riuer of Somme, gaue within Artois, with a most cruel and furious a beginning, burning and ruining all the Countrey alongst as hee passed. The Constable hauing taken his way towards Mauber Fontaine, the 23. of Iune, fained as though hee would addresse himselfe towards Auanes; the common brute being that hee went to besiege it: but as soone as the Ensignes of France were discovered by those of the plaine Countrey, they abandoned Villages, boroughs, Castles, and other places, constrained for their surety to retire within the Ardennes, with the better parte of their moueables and Cartell, esteeming themselves (considering the places vnaccessible, thorough the difficultie of being able to bring artillerye) exempt and out of all perilles, amidst the thickest of those woods, by reason whereof they were able the more easlye to ruyne the Village and Castle of Cimetz, the Castles of Trelon, Glaion, Commins, and other little fortes neere hand. Besides their retreat seruied them to very small purpose, for the Duke of Neuers being determined to tame and bring vnder his obedience, this nation finally frequented through the difficulty of the Ardennes, dislodging from Mefieres, encamped his armye at the entrance of the Ardennes, in a Valley rough and vnpleasant enough, at the end of which there is a little Village called Vieil-meseuil, a name very aptlye giuen, for that it was rather composed of olde ruynes of manors, then of houses of habitation. And that night hee dispatched *De Marets* a Gentleman of Niernois, one of the most ancient and experienced men at armes of his company, together with his Trumpetter to summon the Castle of Orcimond, distant sixe great leagues thence, to whom the goyernour called *Colas Lois*, Lieutenant to *Bayson* a Gentleman of Liege, who a little before

The Army as
sembled in di-
uers places.

The French en-
treth in 3. places
within the Em-
perours coun-
try.

The army of the
D. of Neuers and
his exploiters.

before nothing mistrusting their comming, was departed thence, answered that hee would neueryelde except he saw the Cannon, not for that hee esteemed the Castle tenable, but by reason of the height of the Rocke vpon which it was scituate, which was almost vnacceffible on two sides, notwithstanding they planted the artillery in a little plaine towards the wood for the batterie, the place appertained to *Barlemont* Generall of the Emperours finances. This answer being heard, the Prince determined to goe somewhat neerer to viewe them, and to lodge his armye one league from the Castle, if the difficultie of the places had not stayed him halfe way, in some places so hard and stonye, that it was impossible for either men or horse to stand sure, and besides so straite, that they were enforced to march single by one and one, and in some so steepe and painefull, that their breath failed them in climbing, and else where the descents were so steepe, that they were faine to creepe downe pace by pace, and to graspe and holde fast, except their head should firste tumble downe, to their assured death: so as the horses serued to very small vse for drawing of the artillery, the force of mens armes being there much more needefull, for the better and more sure managing and conducting thereof: true it is that throughout there was so good order kept, as the enemies could hardly giue any impediment therevnto, for that all the waies were furnished with Harquebuziers euery ten pace, for the suretye of the whole trayne: this night being the 29. of Iune, the Prince encamped in another Valley called the Valley of Suranda, neere vnto a rocke, where was wont to be the forte of *Linchant*, at this day for the most parte ruined, vnder which and all alongst this valley runneth a riuer, or rather a swifte streame called *Semois*, which runneth towards *Bouillon*, and falleth into *La Meuse*, vnderneath *Chasteau Regnaut*, from this place hee sent *Lamets* with a Regiment of French Fanterie, and artillerye to batter the Castle of *Orcimont*, which as soone as it was saluted with two Cannon shot, they within being altogether dismayed, without concluding in any other sorte of yeelding, neuer set themselves to any defence, but the Cheefe secretly shut vp all the keyes, and by a secret posterne which opened into this valley between the rocks, saved himselfe with 12. of his most fauoured Souldiers, leauing the rest well astonished and doubtfull of the euent, who notwithstanding shortlye after yeelded themselves to the mercy of the Prince, whose prisonners they were: when the Captains of the rest of the fortes all along these wayes, had receiued aduertisement that for certaine the Prince had trained his artillerye, which before they would neuer haue beleueed, without further endeououring how to annoy his passage, or to stoppe and hinder his wayes with great Logges and trees felde downe, as they are wont, cleane abandoning their fortes, munitions, and all places whether they were wonte to retyre themselves, they fledde of all handes, so as being arrayued at *Louette la grande*, after their departure from the Valley of *Suranda*, they found a little forte called *Vilarcy*, of earth and timber, all voided, the which 25. or thirtie Couriers which had been there within had quited, vnder the charge of the Capitaine *La Lofse* borne at *Mefieres*, which euer since his tender age had bene brought vp in the seruice of *Lamets*, and after his death continually followed the parties of his maister. Abandoning thus this forte, hee set fire of all the houses and furplus of the rest of the village, whereby the Vastadors ordained therevnto by the D. were eased of much paines, A Church likewise which the *Ardennois* had caused to bee fortified called *Fort de Iadines*, was found open and abandoned, which in like sorte was all razed, and beaten downe sauing a great square tower, whose coynes and fastnings in the building were broken

The difficultie of
the Ardennes.

The fort of Lin-
chant ruined.
Streame of Se-
mois.

The Castle of
Orcimont sum-
moned, besieged
battered, and
yeelded vp by
the flight of the
Defendants.

broken and scattered about, by the Cannon shot, which the Prince in passing by caused to be giuen. In somme al the villages, faire enough considering the barrenes of the Countrie, were burned and destroyed. And for that the fort of *Iadines* was the most hurtfull of all the rest to the French, bordering vpon them, the gouernours of *Mefieres* oftentimes assaied to take it, but euer in vaine vntill this blow. About the last day of Iune, the Prince encamped at the village of *Valsimont* in the bottome of a vallie, where a swift streame runneth called *Vouye*, which commeth from the mountaines and falleth into *Meuse* neere at hand: thence he sent the Harrowlde of *Angoulesme* with his trumpet to sommon the Castle of *Beaurin*, in the confines of *Ardennes*, & vpon the limits of the countrie of *Liege*, which likewise appertained to *Barlemont*, the Emperours fauorite. Reporte being made vnto him, how the souldiours had brought great booties out of the woods, with a number of women and young maydens, knowing that in this furie of warre, they could hardly helpe and protect them selues, he made them all to be shut vp, with commandement vpon paine of life not to do them any force or violence: but to bring them all into a certaine lodging, wher hauing vsed great liberalitie towards the souldiers, he made them be safely kept vntill the next morrow that the Campe was departed. And then vpon the reporte of the Harrowlde of *Angoulesme*, how they of *Beaurin* ment not to yeeld except they saw the Cannon, they marched thitherwards. Herevpon such as were appointed to take the view were receiued by them with the bullets of many harquebuses a croc, and muskets, willing to shew that they were prouided as well of courage as other necessaries, so attending vntill fower Cannons were presented vnto them, readie to giue fire. But finding what danger they were in, and being aduertised that if they did not yeeld they should all passe at the swords point, and such as escaped by the hangmans hand, after hauing a while parlied and demaunded to escape life and goods saued, they were in the end reduced to this extremitie, that they should yeeld themselves to the good mercie and pleasure of the Prince: who caused the chiefe of them to bee kept prisonners, and sent away the rest of the pettie companions, euery man a white stick in his hand. *Iohn Calichart* borne at *Bains* in *Heinault* Capitaine of this Castle, was led away prisonner with 40. of his best souldiers. Among which was the Capitaine of the forte of *Iadines*, named *Le Grand Gerard* and *La Lofse*, of whome I spoke before Capitaine of *Vilargy*, who was not put at all to any ranfome, but sent backe shortly after to *Mefieres*, there to be punished as a traytor. The D. of *Neuers* lodged within the Castle a companie of foote of the olde ensignes, and 50. harquebusiers on horsebacke. At their departure from this siege, each man began to reioyce, that he should out of this grievous and painefull desert, and enter into *Liege* a countrie so pleasant and delectable: taking their discent by the ports of *Guiers* the most renowned vpon the ryuer of *Meuse*. But before I passe any further, I will not forget how as wel to render the Nauigation of this riuer which runneth all alongst the countries of *Liege*, and *Brabant* easie and open vnto them, as to enforce the rest of the small Castles and little forts, alongst, there was left there the Capitaine *Salsede*, generall commissioner for all the victuals and munitions, with sixe companies of French fanterie, and two Cannons. Who after that by force he had taken the Castle of *Sumet*, appertaining to the D. of *Ascot*, he cleane abandoned that of *Hurge*, which appertained to *Barlemont*.

As the Prince of *La Roche Sur-yon* burned all *Artois* and the borders about, without any resistance at all made to his little armie, so the Constable hauing caused the brute to be giuen out that his determination was to besiege *Auannes*, so

Valsimont the
lodging of the
D. of Neuers ar-
mie.
Streame of
Vouye.

The Castle of
Beaurin summe-
ned.

Beaurin Castle
yeelded.

Cap. Salsede com-
missioner gene-
rall for victu-
als, conquered at the
Castles along
the riuer.

farre as that the light caualerie had more then once skirmished before it as though they ment to view it, albeit it was well strengthened with a Garrison & other munitions, being notwithstanding aduertised how Mariembourg had but a bare ordinarie Garrison, and that small, the most couertly that was possible, caused the Marshall S. Andre to depart with the Suifers, and some companies of French foote, assisted with two or three thousand horse, and the most part of the artillerie, who made so good speede, hauing all that night cleared the waies and Lanes, which the enemies had stopped, and hedged in. As the 23. of Iune, at ten of the clocke in the morning, he was come with all his troupes before Mariembourg. Whereat they within being altogether astonished, and much more the night after when they vnderstoode that the succours which they attended were driuen backe, and no possibilitie for them to enter, yet to shew themselves as men not dismaied, they played infinitely with the Cannon, which for all that would not serue the turne, any whit at all to staie these new come guests from beginning their approches and trenches. So as the next morrow the Constable being ariued with the rest of the armie, and seeing the good beginning of this siege, to bring it to a better end, he caused the approches to bee continued with such diligence, as the third day of the siege, hauing made five or sixe Voleys of artillerie onely to breake the defences, a parley was requested by the besieged. In somme many of their Articles being refused, they condescended in the end to yeelde vp the place to the K. liues and goods saued, all sauing armor, munition and artillerie, and *De Rinsart* remained prisoner with the Captaines and principals of the Citie. Which being well stored with al munition of an inestimable price, was thus yeilded vp the 28. of Iune, 1554. Whereat the K. much reioysing, shortly after departed towards Laon, ther to find againe his armie the last day of the month. The which in signe of ioye at his ariuall was pitched in order of battell, and the whole artillerie discharged, yeelding a maruellous report and eccho betweene the woodes and the rockes of the Ardennes, giuing notice to the rest of the imperiall townes of the yeilding vp of this. Which in respect it was the rampart of the whole countrie was wel enough fortified. It had bene in former times a litle village where all assemblies for any great hunting still met, in which *Q. Marie* tooke singular pleasure. But for that shee found the seate thereof very proper and delectable, shee fell a building there sparing nothing which was any waies requisite to the beautie or fortification thereof, which shee would in farre better sorte haue persfited, had not the K. taken it who not onely was studious to finish what as yet was vnperfited, but better to fortifie and rampire it, then euer it was before: commaunding them of Mariembourg, to name it from thence forwardes Henriembourg.

Mariembourg
taken by the
French.

Rocroy a small
village between
Maubert-fontaine
and Mariembourg
fortified for the safetie
of the passage.

Now to the end to make the way more easie, and the better to be of discouerie, as farre as the litle towne of Maubert-fontaine which was the next, they caused a litle village called Rocroy to bee fortified, within which they lodged the Capitane *La Lande*, with his ensigne of 300. men on foote, the Capitane *Brenil* of Bretaine with three companies of French still remaining in Mariembourg. Shortly after *Ganor* was sent thither from Disnan: hauing already bene gouernour of Metz, who receiued the King, order to remaine Leutennant generall at Mariembourg, at the hands of the D. of Neuers. Who at his departure from Ardennes, a litle after the taking of the Castle of Beaurin, had sent the Harrowlde of Angouleme, with his trompetor, to summon the Castle, and towne of Disnan, and to know whether the inhabitants determined to continue in newtrallitie such as was accorded in the countrie of Leige, or if they would hold out, for and in the name of whome, of the Em-

perour

perour or the Bishop of Liege. But in steade of yeelding an honest answere, or speaking like a souldier, farre forgetting themselves, they answered them that if they had in their hands the K. and the D. of Neuers harts and liuers, they would soone make a frycasse of them for their breakfast, pelting there with so many Harquebuse shot at them, that they were compelled to returne with all speede and deliuer their report. The D. of Neuers being come downe with his armie, as farre as the ports of Giuets the first day of Iuly, found that the Castle of Agimont not yet yeilded, standing on this side the Meuse a quarter of a league from the other Giuets, albeit it had bene already summoned. Notwithstanding the same day hee made a number of his light Caualerie to passe the water, with certaine companies of foote, to enuiroin the Castle, attending the K. army which marched from Mariembourg of purpose to ioyne with them. Now as the vanguard of the K. armie ariued, the footemen made semblance as though they would scale it, and giue the assault, which in the end turned to good earnest, for the souldiers entred so farre and furiously in sporte that they within could no longer sustaine their assault. In such sort as they were compelled to acquite and abandon the defences, and to giue them entrance: so as being entred with furie, they put all to the sword, that offred to make any resistance, which was for al that no great number, nor men of any marke. And there was taken prisoner the Capitaine of the Castle called *Eurard de la Marche*, owne sonne to the Earle of Rochefort, Father to him who then liued, Lord of the place, and the most part of the rest of the souldiers, were sent away the morrow after. The whole armie remained on this side at Giuets, encamped for the most part betweene the borough and the Castle, in a long & spacious plane: and notwithstanding that this great riuer made a seperation between the two armies, yet did not their kinsfolkes, friendes, neighbours, and companions faile continually to crosse ouer to visit and feast one another. The King himselfe being moued with the good report which he had heard of the D. armie passed ouer in person to see it in battell on Wensday the sixt of that month, and found it in so good order, and equipage, that hee grew thereat much contented. Now there remained but a litle forte called Casteau Thierry which appertained to the Baylife of Namur, or else all round about was subiect to the K. obedience. Therefore there was sent thither the same day a regiment of the French footemen, with artillerie, and some companies of horse: but those which kept it vnderstanding what entertainment they had had at Agimont, neuer tarrying their comming quitte the place in good time, so was the Castle found emptie, and abandonned, but furnished with most faire mouables as was possible, and great quantitie of all sorts of graine. These two armies so iourned at the two Giuets six whole daies together, and the seuenth dislodged. the Kinges feete kept on the way on this side the Meuse, and the D. of Neuers for the difficultie of the waies, was faine to encamp that night in a vallie two leagues from Dinan, about which there was a Castle called Valuin, which was found emptie, and hee lodged in the base court. The next morrow the two armies encamped about the Towne and Castle of Disnan and Bouines. The artillerie being planted vpon the height of an hollow thorough which the high way passed which went to the plane above, battered Bouines so furiously vntill three of the clocke at afternone, that a breach being made at a portail, and within a Tower, the assault was therewith all giuen, and carried away with small resistance, being onely defended by them of the Towne it selfe, with whome it fared full ill for their labour: For vpon the first furie there was made a fore slaughter, some thinking to saue themselves leaped into the water: and yet for all that they could not escape death, the most part of them being

Their answer of
them to the D.
Harquebuse and
cannons.

The K. armie.

Bouines furiously
battered and
taken by assault.

slaine

Ports punished
for holding a-
gainst the K.
power.

Achiefe of an ar-
mie ought not to
be venturous.

slaine with Harquebuze shot, whilst that they dipped to the bottome of the water like Duckes. The rest albeit that they had crossed the riuier, and so taken prisoners by the French, were afterwards hanged, and strangled: for hauing so rashly resisted and held out against the K. power. True it is that in the recompence of the faire warres which the Spaniards made vnto the French, at the taking of Teroenne, the K. pardoned and saued a number of their liues, which were retired into the great Tower which stood about the Towne. Afterwards of his great & accustomed humanitie, he caused the women maidens, and young children to bee all saued, and gaue vnto them for their better safe conduct, a Harrowlde and a trumpetor. Now the verie same morning as the D. of Neuers hard by the Castle of Disnan, would needes him selfe with *Jamets* goe neere to take the view, *Jamets* horse next adioyning to his owne person was slaine with a Harquebuze a croc: himselfe being warned thereby, how such cheefes of an armie ought not so venterously to expose themselves to such perill: for that day notwithstanding the batterie was not begun, for that the artillerie came not time enough; but onely all the rest of the day, many Cannons playde, to begin to breake downe the defences, and certaine Gabions, as well vpon the portaille, as at a little round Tower about the Towne, which greatly annoyed them: so as all that night was employed in making with al diligence the aproches and trenches, but not without great danger for the numerable shot, of artillerie & Harquebuses a croc which played from the Castle, without any murder for all that, or losse of any person other then miserable pyoners. The next morning this Castle was saluted with thertie great peeces of artillerie, fiftene on the D. side, and as many on the Kinges on the other side of the riuier which gaue all along the hollow, and euen within the verie Castle: so as a wall of Bricke which was the highest was perced thorough by day, they battered likewise in flanke, a great round Tower, at the corner of a core of lodging which looked towards the North. On the Dukes side was battered a great round Tower, seated at the end of the same lodging, cleauing to the bulwarke of the portall: and this thundering continued without ceasing day and night vntill Tueday, about three of the clocke in the afternone, that these two Towers were rayfed and battered downe, and a breach made at the ende about this lodging about tenne pace long, notwithstanding it was verie vnease to clyme, for that the Cannon could not fasten vpon the foote of the wall, being amaine Rocks. Ioynte, that they must be faine to creepe a Pikes length, and the ascent was very slipperie, and vn Timer vnder the souldiers feet, by reason of the earth and cement which continually fell vpon it. But for all this it was resolu ed at the instant to giue the assault. And the Admirall led such companies of French as were ordained thereto vnto the foote of the breach, praying and exhorting them with many faire, and gracious remonstrances, to remember the immortall renoune, which the French had achieved for feates of armes thorough out the whole world: and of their dutie where with they stood bounde for the faith and assurance which the K. repored in them, this speech being ended, some Capitaines followed with their valiantest souldiers, marched on, and with an assured gate aduanced forward to clime vp: the Capitane *Maugeron* being one of the first, so as they within esteeming him to be followed hard, and that the French would of them selues stoupe, and creepe in, set fire of a trayne which they had prepared, which beeing quenched if the souldiers pursuing their enterprise had but assaied to enter the enemies could neuer haue held out longer, the walls hauing bene already so shaken & broken with the artillerie, that it was vn Timer for them anie longer to endure. But if some of the French performed their part well, there were other which be-
ued

end themselves so coldly, that they haue left a very bad opinion of them. The Capitane *Saragose* being ensigne colonel went to it verie brauelie and was sore hurt, so did the Capitaines *Gourdes*, *La Mole* and *Le Forte*, whose ensigne bearer called *Le Basque* was there slaine, and slong downe from top to the bottome, and his ensigne thrice taken vp, they still being cast downe which tooke it vp, so as at last it remained in the hands of a Gascon souldier named *Fougasset*. The Admirall Colonell of al the French fanterie, seeing his souldiers thus to waxe coole, excusing themselves by the narrownes, and euill access to the breach, to giue them hart began a little more seuerely to exhort them, shewing vnto them, that if in the K. presence they would make no better prooffe of their hardines the good reputation which they had heretofore gotten, would turne them to a farre greater reproch, and a perpetuall infamie. The which he had no sooner finished, but the further to set them in a heate hee began first himselfe, and after him the more to encourage them, *Monpesat* (albeit he had no charge at all in their bands) leaped vpon one of their ensignes, and brauely before them all carried it vp to the top, where he couered himselfe behinde certaine quarters and ruines of the wall which was fallen downe, calling them and making signe with the ensigne that they should follow him. It was impossible for all that, to make them take any further courage vnto them: whereby some Capitaines before well esteemed of were very ill thought of euer after, of whom some were disgraced, cast from their charge, declared villanes and vn Timer to beare armes in the face of the whole armie, which witnessed their fault. As the night came on, so was the retreat founded. That day they of the Towne of Disnan, yeelded themselves at the mercy of the K. into the hands of the D. of Neuers: who forgetting their foolish and rash wordes received them, and assured them of their liues, and that their Towne should not be burned: to that ende the Capitaines *Duras*, and *Boisse*, were sent with their companies of French fanterie: but albeit that these companies were lodged there for their assurance and safetie, yet could they not warrant them from the sacke: for the Almanes of the new leauie, imagining that these companies had bene gotten in only to haue the sacke among them, ranne thither vpon a huddle, and broke open the gates with hatches, crowes, and great beames: the rest which had not the patience to tarry, crept vp, and scaled the walles, leaping in, in a number of places, where they made a maruellous peece of worke: and not content with this, vnderstanding how they had caused all the women and young children to retire with certaine Cittizens into the great Church, they gathered together in troupes before it. And after that they had by violence beaten downe the gates, and porches of the temple: notwithstanding any resistance made to them by the French which were within, they rauished and trayned out the men, women, maidens, and young children: so as for that cause was rayfed a cruell medly betweene them and the French which would haue put them out. The which endured all that night and vntill the next morrow in the morning vntill the King sent expressly to appease this mutinie. And afterwards it was proclaimed thoroughout the whole armie, that euery man vpon paine of death should deliuer vp the women of Disnan: which he caused to be nourished vntill their departure with his own provision, albeit that the souldiers themselves were in great necessitie. After that the French were retired from the assault, the artillerie began on fresh to batter the Castle, to make the breach greater & more easie, continuing the batterie all that night: while that they sought other meanes to haue it by the fallings of the wall right against the breach making it more easie to clime. Notwithstanding the 13. of Iuly about seuen of the clocke in the morning, they offered to parlie, and being admitted thereunto, there
came

came out first *de Flojon* gouverneur of the Castle, and *Hamon* Capitaine of the *Almanes*, who were conducted to the D. of *Neuers* tent: to whome hauing proposed Articles, and it being resolutely denied vnto them to carrie thence any weapon, artillerie, or ensigne, they agreed that they should depart with sworde and dagger, and some other trifling baggage. But *Iulian* the Capitaine of the *Spanniards*, to keepe a kind of authoritie which that nation maketh it selfe much to be marked for in feates of armes, insisted with great perswasions that hee and his people might depart with their weapons: the which for all that the Constable would by no meanes graunt. Now while that they were reasoning about this and sundry other things, *Bourdillon*, and *de Rabandanges* were secretly sent to know, and conclude with the *Spanniards* whether they were willing to come forth with like condition as the rest: to which they most willingly consented demanding nothing but libertie. Wherefore the capitulation being brought backe to the Constable, signed, and accorded, was shewed to *Iulian*, who after the Spanish fashion making great exclamation said that he one of the chiefe and principall of all did not consent nor approoue it: and required with great importunacie that he might be conueied backe againe to the Castle, which he vnderooke to keepe onely with his Spanish companies: the which of fauour was graunted vnto him, with protestation, that if he were taken by force, he should hope for nothing but to be the first hanged at the gate. Whereupon by leasure his choller was moderated: hauing occasion to thinke rather of the danger wherein he stood, then to shut himselfe vp with his souldiers, which desired nothing but comming forth one after an other: the K. being still present, who tooke great pittie of them, the most part of them being so wome and tyred, as they looked like frighted bodies, and true Anatomies, thorough the paines and necessities which they had endured: the whole amounting to about 800. of all sortes, and there dyed one another about eight score, or two hundred. *Tauannes* his companie was appointed to conduct the rest in safetie the way of *Namur*, and this Capitaine *Iulian* was kept prisoner, not onely for the aunswere which he had made, but for an other more especiall occasion. This Castle was reputed amongst one of the strongest and fairest houses of the B. of *Liege*, with B. *Eurarde*, of the house of *La Marche*, vncle to *Lamets* then liuing, had caused to bee reedified, vpon the olde ruines, but farre more excellent and strong then euer it was before: likewise fundrie other as *Hue*, *Franchemont*, *Stoquehan*, *Bouillon*, and *Floranges*. It is scituate vpon an huge Rocke, which may be about & of circumference neere fower hundred paces, issuing from the side of a mountaine of great scope, vpon the riuer of *Meuse* in forme ouall: vnaccessible two waies, on the Towne side and on the riuers: verie vnease likewise on the side wher the breach was made, vpon the two fronts are two bulwarks, in halfe circles, or as they commonly say in forme of horse-shoos, the one vieweth and defendeth al the plaine of the mountaine, seruing for a platforme, the other about the Towne and riuer is almost in the same sorte, sauing that it was not so high, and the vpper parte made of Bricke, no whit at all rampired. Within the Castle is a square court of about fortie paces in Diamiter and widthe, inuironed with three great core of houses, of a maruailous faire building and workmanship: propped vp vnderneath with great colomes, the most part guilt, speckled all with white and graye spots, of which was likewise all the foundations made, and the vpper part of Bricke. The vnder storie was all inuironed with faire and long galleries and walkes: and aboue were many great romes proper and well fitted with Chambers and a Chappell taking light towards the Towne: without towards the North stood these two round Towers, which the

Cannon

Cannon ruined euen to the verie foundations: and below a courtaine or false braye flanked with Turrets which was almost broken downe & battered. At the roote of this great Rocke all along the riuer stood the towne, well builded & adorned with houses, scituated most properly for the bringing of al kind of marchandise, especially copper, brasse, and all sorte of russet colours: on the other side of the riuer about 200. paces off standeth the towne of *Bouines* which is not much lesse then *Difnan*, of the Countie of *Namur*, and it is found that in auncient time the two townes made warlike wars together. *Difnan* holding the party of *La Marche* which was for France, and *Bouines* of *Burgondie*. *Difnan* being a neuter town lost her neutrality, for at the appetite of their B. vncle to the Emperor to subiect themselves to one particular, who by violence (said some) did vsurp the Bishoppricke of *Liege*, fro the Abbot of *Beaulieu* to whom his said vncle had resigned it. Whereupon the humanity and sweetnes of this Prince was much to be marked, who by no meanes would haue the towne of *Difnan* burned as *Bouines* was, but had regard vnto the subiection which the Castle so much commanding ouer, alwaies had the towne in: & therefore in the most faire and strongest part thereof, it was by his owne fault beaten downe and battered, for euer after to be an example, that neuter lands, & especially of the Church ought not to be partiall or cleaue to any one more then another.

Whilst that these two armies staid about *Bouines* & *Difnan*, the other of the Prince *de La Rochefurion* burning al the country of *Artois* was sundry daies skirmished with all by a number of *Flemmings* which sided & followed him continually to interrupt his purpose: whereof the Prince being aduertised, & of their courses which they still kept betweene *Arras* and *Bapaume*, came so fitly vpon the that hauing wrapt them in vpon the way, he charged the in such sort that there lay about 200. & of their principall chefetaines ther were brought away prisoners, *De Fama* gouernor of the Citadel of *Cambray* and his Lieutenant, *Parlusset* Capitaine of the light horse: so as if it had not bene for a good horse vpon which *De Hausimont* gouernor of *Bapaume* was mounted, he was in as great danger to haue borne them company. Two Cornets of their caullery were there defeated & taken, which the Prince sent vnto the K. wherby he might be the more assured of the aduantage which he had ouer his enemies. The 15. day of the moneth many French marchants which by riuer had brought victuals to the campe, hauing sold the, and going back againe to *Mesieres* with their botes laden with booties, & certaine souldiers, and the Capitaines *Garragosse*, *Gourdes*, and *La Mole* hurt in the former assaults, were reencountred by the *Bourguignons* not far fro *Giuet*, & constraining them to come aboard, killed part and part, they carried away prisoners, among whom were these three captaines, to whom they made very faire war, & gracious entertainmēt, sending the away vpon their faith. At their departure thence vnderstanding how at *Giuet* were certain English & Scottish companies pertaining to the French, they suddenly went to surpris the, and constrained them to retire into a house tenable enough, but brought away fower score and fixe of their horses.

The Emperor who as the lay at *Bruxelles* neer enough, being aduertised of al this, and how the comon brute of the camp went, that at their departure fro *Difnan* they met to besiege *Namur*, caused as many souldiers to be lodged ther as he esteemed necessary, knowing it otherwise but meanely fortified for any artificial fortification, and that as a great number of men were needful for the assailing of so great townes, so as great & careful diligence for their defence to be requisite. Seing in like sort all the comons of the plaine countrie so moued & out of hart as all was abandoned he sent his nephew the D. of *Sauoy* for his Lieutenant general, with as many souldiers as he was

able to

English & Scotts
take at the ports
of *Giuet* by the
Bourguignons.

recouer, readily to emparke himselfe in the towne side in a place called Giuelou, betweene the two riuers of Meuse, & Sambre, wher he got together and assembled his army with extreme diligence: hauing sent for succours out of al places. As sone as the Prince was fortifed in this place, he scattered his Cauallerie vpon the way where he thought the victuals would passe for the French, as wel to weaken the and giue them occasiō to retire, as to learne & know their determination causing a bruit to be sowne, reported by spies and prisonniers, that if they aduentured to march further, or to passe the riuier of Sambre to enter into Henault, he would present himselfe a hed to giue the battel. But the K. as not being so far entred into his enemies countrie to retorne without passing further, hauing likewise left the way of Namur, staied to passe ouer the riuier of Sambre, & to burne the countrie of Henault, whereby he might make prooffe of the imperiall forces: frō whence such being returned as went to view the places & way which the army must passe thorough, hauing sent backe *Bourdillon* with his companie to Mesieres to cause certain Bourgingnons to retire, which burned certaine villages about, the K. raised his army from this place the 16. of Iuly to continue his determination: knowing notwithstanding the difficulty to recouer victuals, & how the enemy had gotten al within their strong townes, & broken down al mills, he thought good to aduertise the whole companies, to make prouision of as much victuals as was possible, euen so farre as to lade their horses with prouision: the D. of Neuers remaining vpon the Meuse side, as wel to make the surplus of prouisions to be distributed, as to tarrie the raysure of the Castle of Dinan, and of all the rest of the small fortes about, whence he departed the 18. day of that month, and went to finde the King at Storne a small village, where the Lord of the place, as he was ready to goe to dinner, was surprised by the light horse. The next morning, at their dislodging, that was set on fire, and all the villages round about. Now as the armie lying betweene these two riuers there was no meanes honorably to retire, but by the issue of an happie combat, so already and resolute for the show, marched in battell straight to this riuier. Their couriers notwithstanding hauing giuen as farre as the brinkes of La Sambre, founde not so much as one sole man to make them resistance, and passed forwards freely so as the whole cauallerie followed after, then the infanterie and men at armes without the losse of any one vallet, were it not by some other accident. Likewise the imperials not finding themselves strong enough as then, contained themselves close within their fort, and insteede of going out to seeke them, they were shut in and fortifed with good trenches the best that was possible. Notwithstanding that night there were certaine troupes of their cauallerie discovered, which presently drew backe into the woodes, hauing perceiued a number of French companies, which were ready to accost them. So the poore popular people abused with the hope, which they imagined of the imperiall armie, were surprised within their houses, with a mightie number of cattell, & other moueables, not without great pittie: all the plaine countrie being set on fire and extremely ruined, especially one little Towne called Forces, within the countie of Asselais. This night they encamped on this side the riuier in a Copice, where the whole armie kept close and well vnited, perceiuing the imperials to be but one league and a halfe of. The twentie day of the moneth the French armie beganne to make her entrie so furiously within the countries of Hanault, that there was nothing but fire, cries, sightes, and all things pittifull to heare, but much more to see, without so much as one burrow daring to make resistance. All the people flying away from the reencounter of this horrible furie, which continued vntill euentide, that they encamped in the village of Iumets, very famous for the

The Emperours
armie vnder the
prince of Pie-
mont.

the two new forts which were there: frō one of which a number of imperials hauing bene aduanced thither to cut off the victuals from the army, had already giue the slip at the bruit of the vauntcouriers. These Castles were in the strongest places ruined & raised. In this place the K. did an act worthe of a most Christian Prince: for hauing bene told him by a guidon of the D. of Neuers company how a poore woman his hostesse was deliuered of a faire sonne, himselfe would needs be godfather, carried it vnto the Font, & their caused the Cardinall of Lorraine to Baptise it by the name of *Henrie*, bestowing certaine presents of him: besides that he made it be writtē ouer the house dore, to the end it might not be destroyed nor ruined with the rest. Thus is the house where the K. Christned the child. This night the comte *Roquendolphe* with his pistoliers, his regiment of Almanes, the D. of Bouillons companie, & two small field peeces, vnderooke to goe surprise the little Towne of Niuelle, the first town of Brabant: notwithstanding finding it better furnished with men of war then he supposed he returned without doing ought else then burning the suburbs and villages about: frō whence he broght away great booties. At their dislodging thence the army drew straight to Bains one of the principal townes of Hennault, leauing for all the waies behinde it nothing but flames of fire, smoke and all kind of calamitie: whome the D. of Sauoy still followed with the imperiall army from lodging to lodging: giuen at their tayle as many alarums as he was able, to annoy and weaken the, being of himselfe grieued enough to heare and see the plaints of the miserable common people so destroyed & ruined: to whom he could giue no other comfort, but say that they still fled before him, & he followed stil after to be reuenged of the. An occasiō that the same day they encamped about Bains wher they lightned far greater fires then the first, for that there were spoyled & consumed to ashes the most faire Castles and gentlemens houses, which were possible to be builded. Among the rest the most sumtuous house of Marimont was set on fire, curiously builded for the singular pleasure of *Q. Mary*, furnished with as many singularities as was possible to be imagined. An other excellent faire Castle, called Tragny was burned and the greatest part ruined, where were found sundry moueables and rich vestements as well of men as women. The 22. of Iuly the Towne of Bains being summoned, and no waies willing to yeeld, was most furiously presented with the Cannon, and in another manner of sorte then when *D. Alegre* lost his life there. Which hauing endured out fixe volleys of the Cannon, yeelded themselves to the Kinges mercie, who for all that commaunded it to be destroyed and burned, not forgetting his Castle of Foulembay and other Townes of Picardie, which *Q. Marie* had before caused to be burned & entirely ruined, at such time as he was in Germanie. They did as much to a sumtuous Castle which she had newly caused to be built, replenished with all exquisite things as of sundrie varieties of Marble, Tables, plate pictures, and emboist statues, colours of all sortes, whereof notwithstanding in smal space was made great wast & destruction. *De Blossé* who was gouernour thereof was brought away prisonner, with the chiefeft of marke which were found both there and within the towne: the K. still vsing all meekenes towards the women, young maidens & litle children, which he made be conducted & put in safety, by a Harrowld, & a trumpeter. Afterwards the same morning *de Giry* Leutenant of the D. of Neuers company, was sent with 4. other companies of men at armes, to keepe scout to those, which set fire on the Castle of Reux, which the late maister thereof had caused to be reedified, and better masonned then euer it was, when it was first builded, being vvwted from the bottome to the toppe: from thence they were at Bais sur Bais a village: afterwards at a litle towne of Bauets, very anucient first builded by the Trojans, (as they of the country tell) which passed beyond the forest

An act of a most
christian K.

The imperial
armie followeth
the French from
place to place.

Marimont a house
of pleasure to *Q.
Marie* burned.

of Mormant, calling it after the name of their Prince Bauo. At this time smally inhabited, but to ruine it the more fire was put in many places. The imperial armie stil followed the very neere, being better strengthened as well by the succours of Almanes which the D. of Brunfwich brought, of 2000. Reistres, which they cal in France Pistoliers, as for that all the Emperors Garrisons, which hee had distributed among the towns which he had left behind were retired thither. The which caused the French to march in better order, & closer then before: as alwaies ready to fight, frō one place to another, for doubt of the enemy, being very vigilant, subtil & courageous, wher he could spie any aduantage to assaile thē: wher at the Constable well aduising, to support the charges, & enterprises, which the enemy might giue vpon their skirts, ordinarily remained there with the vauward, and dislodged euer last. Thus the alarums redoubled at their departure thence, hauing as it were couped the selues in betwene six great Towns of their enemies to wit Mons in Haynault, Auanes, Landrecy, Lequesnoy, Valenciennes, & Cambray, and the imperial armie which was at their heeles, & had assailed them as by a dispaire had not been the good conduct of their chesfes the imperials hauing aduentred so far as in clere day to force their whatch, after they had surprised one of the sentinels of *Tauannes* his company: notwithstanding not daring to aduenture further, as sone as they were perceiued, they were driuen in as farre as Lequesnoy. Now this night their light cauallery skirmished long, & with lucke enough, which was a cause to make thē forbear, & take som rest the surplus of that night. Hauing then frō Villie encamped at Souleine, and frō thence at the burrowes & Castle of Gommigny which they burned, they marched forward the 24. of the month, whē as their enemies as it were desperate, in seing their country burned, destroyed & sacked by thē, without any doubt of being followed, or feare of being famished, proposed to giue thē a charge, taking vantage of the raynie & misty weather: knowing likewise that they had two reasonable bad riuers, to passe which were swelled that night where they hoped to delay thē and put thē in such diorder, as they would haue them at deuotion hauing all their own garrisons ioyned together. Therefore they deuided into two troupes about 4000. of the best horse they had, laying part of thē in ambush within the woods vpon the way, & part of them within certaine villages at hand according as they might most comodiously sustaine one another, the D. of Sauoy remaining behind with other 4000 horse & some footmen, hauing belaid the field with 4. or 5. hundred couriers to entise forth their light horse: wher by they being first discovered by the D. *D'Aumale*, it was thought fit to send to the Marshall *S. Andre*, who remained at their taile with two regiments of men at armes to know if it were best to charge thē: who sent back word that he was not of that opiniō, fearing they had a greater company. Wherefore *Paul Baptista*, & the capitane *Lanque* were sent to view them more neere: who made report each one of his side that they had descried two other troupes of 2000. horse a peece which anon after as soone as the wether grew clearer, discovered thē selues at ful, & so neere as they attacked skirmish with the light cauallery of the French hard by the camp, without setting, or giuing in earnest vpon any of the other ranks of cauallery, and men at armes: which made thē hedlong enough, & in their view retired and passed this last riuier: afterwards they returned without carrying the honour to haue had any aduantage at all ouer them. The regiment of the Duke of Neuers was sent another way, where certaine of their scouts were defeated, which brought great quantitie of baggage, but parte thereof was againe re-kewed. Afterwardes they encamped that night in a village, which the yeere before had bene burned called Viellie. The same day a trumpetour which the Duke of Neuers had sent to the campe, called *La Capelle*, to vnderstand what was become of

a man

a man at armes of his company, returned almost al naked, & stript by some souldiers of the enemies, smally experiēced in feates of war. But at the instant he was sent backe againe in the same estate, with a trumpetor, who was charged by the K. to tel the D. of Sauoy, the Emperors Lieutenant general, that if hereafter they vsed any more the like fashions, & al the priueledges & liberties of war shold be thus abolished, he wold do the like at his next fege. Which being vnderstood by this gentle Prince, to shew how fore he was displeased therat, he caused diligent search to be made thoroughout his whole campe, for those as had comitted so base and lewd an act, to haue thē punished in example: so as hauing recovered the trumpetors clothes & horse with recompence for such other things as had bene taken frō him, he caused him to be safely coueied backe by one of his owne: Now for that some of the imperials had caused the bruite to run, how that the French did flie before thē, & that if they woulde but stay 24. howers, the Prince shold giue thē battel, they answered, that they saw no cause to be so brag, nor so lightly to vsurp such glory, occasion of cōbat hauing already bene often enough presented vnto them if they themselues had list. Notwithstanding if the Prince had so great desire thereto as he made shew for, he assured them on the K. behalfe, that he would stay full 24. howers & no more, or if he would come find him out neer Cambray, he did assure him that would tarry for him 8. daies together, wher nothing shold be refused him. But whilst they sought out the most comodious places to lodge their battellons & men at armes, the imperials in the end retired to their first lodgings neere to Bauets. An occasion that at their departure thence the French with one march got as far as Crauecœur neere Cambray, where the enemies had determined to fortifie and repaire the Castle, hauing already begun to make certaine trenches & conduits to tast the water, purposing there to lay their foundations which the same day being the 26. of Iuly, their pioners began to raise: where the first wound of the miserable Cambresius was renewed, who had already set vp & builded some little cottages, only to keepe thē selues dry: imagining that a long time there would not so great misfortune befall them, hauing according to their habilitie againe sowed part of their fields, to haue wherwith all to nourish, and keepe themselues from famine: so as the richer sort, & glad to that they were with their best moueables retired within the strong townes, were not exempt out of al these losses & aduersities: for whē the tennant is poore & afflicted, the Lord saith neuer a whit of ought the better. Now whilst that in the plain countie they made wast of Corne already ripe, & ready to be reaped, many braue salies and skirmishes dayly fel out between them of Cambray & the French: the Citadel stil troubling & darkning the aire with shot of Cānon, which lighted only among the worst sort, without slaying of any person of frenowne: which they did only by al meanes possible, seeking to hinder the losse & ruine of their fruits, being notwithstanding often enough repelled and driuen into their owne gates, so as these bickerings continued for the space of 8. daies, whilst that the French lay ther encamped. The imperial armie in the meane time was pitched and fortified in a place called Argon betwene Cambray, Lequesnoy, & Valenciennes vpon the little riuier of Monter, which commeth towards the Castle of Cambresy, & a little lower falleth into Leascau, still continuing their courses to cut off the waies: which the Prince *De La Roche Sur-Yon* well perceiuing came thither, incorporating his armie with the K. which hee succoured with great quantitie of victuals, whereof they stode in great want and necessitie.

In this time was the marriage concluded betwene *Philip* of Austria, and *Mary* of England, though with much more honor to the English, then to the Spaniards: ha-

Marriage of Philip of Austria & Mary Q. of England.

Courtelle of England.

uing taken from him by the contract of marriage, many commodities which ordinarily are proper and incident vnto a husband, yea so farre as to denie vnto him the courtelle of England which carrieth. That a Queene enheritrice to England, coming to be married to a Prince stranger, and afterwards dying, the husband should enioy such goods as appertained vnto her during his life, though no heires at al were issued by marriage: wherein likewise may be very well noted the power of the estates and Parliament of England, ouer the disposition whether liuing or testamentarie of their Prince. This marriage notwithstanding, though very honorable to their nation, yet stucke sore in the minds of many Lords and other of the countrie as well for the displeasure which they tooke in that they were to be commaunded by a stranger, as for the change of Religion and pollicie, already as it were growne olde and seiled in the harts of many: so as with a full resolution to hinder the same, and to set vp *Lane* of Suffolke as Queene, they rose in armes vnder *Henrie* of Suffolke, *Thomas Wyat* and sundrie other as well in Cornewale as the North countrie. *Wyat* vndertooke to bring his men straight to London chiefe Citie of the Realme, hoping to draw the Londoners vnto him vnder a pretext of the countries libertie, & hinderance of the alliance with a stranger. The Q. on the other side hauing leuiued a great number of men caused the Duke to flee to Warwicke, from whence seeking to escape into Fraunce, hee was apprehended and brought to London by the Earle of Huntington, who marched against *Wyat*, gathering men out of the Dutchie of Norfolk, the Duke whereof being taken prisoner by *Wyat*, in no case would be perswaded to combat with this partie, but afterwards being released, hee revealed vnto the Q. all the enterprise of *Wyat* and his partners: with whom stood likewise suspected and kept as prisoner, *Elizabeth* daughter to *Henry* and *Anne Boulton*. *Wyat* notwithstanding being ariued at London was much astonied. But the Queene though with small force, hauing publickly to all men rendred the cause, which moued her to take the Spaniard to her husband, and how that the countrie should there by receiue much more good, then by her alone, or any other English Prince: besides; how she would loose nothing of her owne, nor any waies diminish the libertie of her subiectes, encouraged them so farre as *Wyat* cleane out of hope of entering the Cittie, and seeking to retire into Kent, being pursued was defeated by the Earle of Penbrooke: afterwards brought to London, within shortspace, both the D. of Suffolke and himselfe, had their heads cut off, being not long after followed by *Lane* of Suffolke and her husband, for not hauing refused, the vnfortunate Crowne which was offered vnto them. Thus began the marriage of *Marie*, with the effusion of her subiectes blood, as almost all the rest of her Raigne consumed in diuision: and full of murder and punishments of the most notable personages of her Realme. These troubles being appeased the Prince of Spaine ariued about the end of Iuly in the Ile of Wight: from whence being honorably conducted by my L. Paget and other, entering afterwards further in to England, followed by the D. of *Alva*, Earles of *Padilla*, *Rigomes*, & *Aiguemont*, the Admiral of Castile, and Marquis of *Langvillare*, the marriage was solemnized the 22. of Iuly at Winchester, where Masse being finished, the Emperours deputies declared how in fauour of that marriage, his Maiestie did giue vnto his sonne the realme of Naples, Sicillie, and Ierusalem, the Dutchie of Milan, Burgondie, Brabant, the Earldomes of *Aspur*, *Flanders*, and *Tiroll*.

Henrie in this meane while, continuing stil ready & vpon his guard caused in the great plain betwene *Crœuecœur* and *Cambray* a generall muster to be made of al his men at armes and French Cauallerie, about the month of Iuly whilst that his footmen & cariadges

cariadges had gained the aduantage, and passed the *Riuer*, for some companies of light horse being sent forth for watch and scoutes, returned word back how that they had discouered neere hand to a foure or fise hundred horse, and a great number of foote, making thew as though the Emperours Campe marched, keeping their way as though they went directely to *Cambray*, whereof they were no sooner aduertised, then likewise ready, with resolution rather to fight it out in the fildes, then to permit or giue them leaue to fortifie so neere vnto them, especially with the helpe and succour of so great a Towne, whereby as much mischeefe might happen vnto them as did vnto the Protestants of Germanie before *Ingolstar*, whereupon the D. *D'Aumale* remounted suddenly on horseback with the light Cauallerie, the better to be assured of the truth, and found how the imperial army was indeed remoued with full determination to come and encampe neer *Cambray*, but that the Emperor knowing how they were not departed thence, fearing to be enforced to fight to his great disadvantage, lodged in another place neere vnto the first, called *Neuville*, which hee caused suddenly to be reinforced with trenches on that side, which was not flanked to the ruer.

This night at sundry times were sent out some companies of French Cauallerye, and of the Admirals men at armes to keepe them in continuall alarmes within their forte, vntill the break of day next morning, that the Constable with the most parte of the men at armes of his vanguard, and two Regimentes of French Fanterie went neere to view and see if there were any meanes to force them within their forte, or to entice and giue them occasion to come forth. But he found that very hard, for that this place was two waies enclosed with the ruer, and on the other sides wel fortified and trenched in, assuring himselfe by the discourse of naturall reason, and examples past, that for the finalnes of resolution which would be had therein, he could not carry away more honor and profite, then hee had done at other times, and in his yong yeeres at *La Bicoque* a simple Country house, of lesse strength then the place where the *Marquesse* of *Gnast* defeated all the fury of the French, *Zuizers*, and other partakers of the Flower de luce. True it is that in his returne hee espyed some olde Towers where sundrye of the enemyes were lodged on this side their Campe, as well to keepe scout, as to endamage the fouragers: whereupon it was concluded that the Cannon should be brought thither the same day to the battrie; by this meanes the rather to prouoke the Emperour to come forth to garde and defende them. But the imperialls cleane acquired them retiring within their fort, Notwithstanding to giue all occasions which might bee, as also doubting the descent of the English into the countrie of *Boulonois*, the marriage hauing beene already solemnized betwene the K. of Spaine, and their Queene, *Henry* determined to make his arrieue vnto those partes. where accordyng as the commoditie presented it selfe, he might besiege on of his enemies holdes, to the end that if hee would put himselfe into the fildes and strue to rescue it, the Emperour might bee thereby constrained to fight. Hauing then sojourned certaine daies at *Crœuecœur* neere to *Cambray*, the second of August hee departed, and the same day went to encampe at *Ondrecourt* neere the Castellet, whereof the Emperour being aduertised, raised his armie from *Neuville*, and taking his way towards *Arras*, pitched at *Marteau*. The day after the French were at *Mornencourt*, two leagues from *Peronne*, and the next morrow passed before *Bapalme* saluted with infinite shot of Cannon. Notwithstanding the armie made no long abode there through the discomfort which they founde in not being able to recouer water: but onlie the light horse skirmished sometime before that place whilst

Lane of Suffolke and her husband with sundry other beheaded at London.

whilest that the whole army defended to encampe that night all along the little Riuer vnderneath Miramont; whence they departed the next daye, keeping their way all along the borders of the Countie of Artois, where they sawe a wonderfull waste which the Prince of Roche Sur-yon his army had made sundry faire Castles and Villages as yet smoaking, the Come and fruites of the earth clean destroyed and abandoned, which are the miseries and calamities that the warres and dissensions betwene Princes bring to poore people. That night being the 5. of August, they encamped Paz in Artois, where some caualerie of the Garrison of Arras keeping alongst the woods and couered cuntry, vndertook to free about vpon the hinder part, but being encountered with their English and Scottish Caualery, were defeated, and the most parte of their Souldiers dismounted, and other brought away prisoners, whereby the losse of Givettes was now recompensed: There they made great waste, and continued it as farre as the abbey of Cercamp, where the County of S. Poul beginneth; there they sojourned two dayes for many reasons, especiallye for that they had resolved to besiege the Castle of Renty. The D. of Vendosme departed thence with a good number of Caualerie and foote, training some artillerie to goe before to summon it; also to knowe whether any bodye were lesse within Fauquemberg, which he purposed to raze, with all other small fortes adioyning; to the end likewise that he might be able to bring greater store of artillerie, that which he had there being partly homecomd, partly cracked and dismounted, much powder and munition hauing bene spent before the Townes and Castles which they had taken; the eight of August they trauesed all the Countie of S. Poul, leauing Dorlan and Hedin on the left hand, and Terroanne on the right, to encampe the night following at Fruges, whence that night the Castle of Renty was againe summoned, and answer made by the Capitaine, that he would neuer yeelde it vp, assuring himself of the succours which the Emperour would bring vnto him; who being informed of the comming thither, as well in respect that forte was very preiudiciall to the Countie of Boulonois, as to assay if they would hazard to fight with him and driue him out of the Countie, was departed from Arras, where hee had mustered all his forces, with which he approached as neere vnto the King as Terroanne on the Friday at night. But the French knowing his intent to be to keepe on the other side of the Riuer, a place strong by reason of the length & bredth of the wods which stretched very far into the cuntry, whereby succors might come vnto him as well of victuals as Souldiers, and all other sorts of munitions, and being there fortified, his presence would easily succour and reskew the Castles with whatsoeuer should be needfull, yea of all sides readye to cutte off and annoy the besiegers, aduised for the more sure, that the Constable with the Vantgarde should passe into that part, and fortifie himselfe with trenches, to beneeete with and preuent all occasions of surpris; and to cut off the way to any succours which might be sent vnto the Castle, bridges and boates were made vpon the little Riuer, whereby the two Campes might the more easily succour one another. Afterwards all the light caualerie being encamped at Fauquemberg; this castle remained so penned in, as there was not one man able to enter in without being discovered; notwithstanding the better to ascertain the Emperour of this siege, they caused to be planted on the toppe of a mountain on Montecul side foure Culuerins, to begin to batter these defences, whilest they aduanced forward such great peeces as were taken and brought from the Townes about the Riuer of Somme, which came thither somewhat late, and only the Satterday at night, but to make amends to this sloath, they made the approches with such speede, as all was done in battery

The K. army before Renty and his deffeines.

The Emperour before Renty & his deffeines.

batterie by the next morrowe, notwithstanding any shower of Harquebuze shotte, which they were able to send out of the Castle, whence there was hurte the Capitaine Fauquedemars, one of the most ancientest and experimented Capitaines of the olde Ensignes, the which redoubled vnto the Emperour his doubt and feare of the place, seeing himselfe without all meanes or hope to be able so much as to cause one man to enter in: but in the end the greefe and shame which hee concealed, to suffer his Country so to be destroyed, and before his eyes, and that this place should be taken and enforced, so mingled themselves together, that making himselfe an enemy to his feare, he resolved to trye fortune, and to doe his best whatsoeuer should ensue thereon to succour it. Thereupon the same day he came to encampe hard by the French, but for all that the artillerie neuer ceased most furiouslye to batter the Castle, and that in two places, to wit, on the Constables side and on the Kings, the artillerie being aduanced, and planted on the very brinke of the ditch, which battered a bulwarke on the left hand, and a round tower within the dungeon on the right, they shot likewise from the mountaine a little below the Zuizers Campe, with foure culuerins to break the defences, and you may not doubt but in short time this castle was as violently battered and cannoned, as any other place, so as the Emperour determined as the best way to raise them as yet to approche neerer, and so lodged on the top, on the plaine of a mountaine, betwene a little Village called Marque and Fauquemberg, where there was but one little Valley of an hundred and fiftie pace large, and at the least as steepe, which deuided the two armies, and the valley on the other side, wher the riuer runneth which maketh a marish, and ouerfloweth al round about the Castle on the right hand. Besides a wood on the left betwene the Spaniard and the French, about Fauquemberg, called the wood William, which the Emperour thought good to seafe vpon to hinder their giuing of the assaulte, and to compell them by shot of Cannon into their campe, to dislodge and quit the place. Now had the D. of Guise which commaunded in the battaile watched all that night, as also the Prince of Ferrara, the D. of Neuers, the Admirall, the Marshall de S. Andre, and other, assuring themselves that the enemye would not faile to spy out the wood to lodge in, and therefore was there set about 300. Harquebusiers in ambush, within certaine little caues, and some corselets which stode plaine to be discovered, to the end the enemies first addressing themselves to fight with them, might be enclosed in, the easier to be defeated by the Harquebuziers: and so a little after at the point of day, the scouts reported how they had heard a great noise, and descried certain matches of Harquebuziers, the which himselfe afterwarde perceiuing, forbade them to discouer themselves, but to tarrie vntill they might be sure, and vpon that went back into the corps de gnet, which was retired in the plaine towards the Campe. The Imperials still marched forward within the wood, according to the reporte of some couriers, which they still sent before, and perceiuing nothing, went so far in that they found themselves enclosed within this ambush, not as yet discovered: wherefore the French suddenly all at one instant discharged so hottely on them, that they remained in the end so astonied and beaten, as in seeing a number hurt, they began to flye and turne their backs, glad that the day was no further forwardes, and that the weather was misty. Now from the beginning of the daye the batterye was continued more furious then before, so as in a shorte space the breaches in euery place grewe reasonable ready to giue the assaulte: whereof the Emperour being aduertised, hee was so angry, as the very same day being the 13. of August, about noone he made a volley of artillerie to be discharged, to giue them warning within that they should be of courage

The Emperours and K. Henries deffeines before Renty.

The Imperial army to giue battaile to the French.

The French army represented before Renty to giue battaile.

rage, and that their succours were at hand. Afterwardes hauing concluded to giue battaile, (against the aduice of the principall of his counsell) he caused all his campe to be set in order, but he resolved first to gaine the wood, knowing the importance thereof, and at all hazards to chase away the French. Therefore hauing chosen out of all his companies of foote about three or foure thousand Harquebuziers of the best experienced, some corseletes, and Pikemen to supporte them, and about foure thousand horse, with foure fildes peeces, carried vpon foure wheelles, ready to turne them vpon any hand, (whereby they were afterward called the Emperours Pistols) he caused them all to march right into the wood, the light Cauallerie vnder the conduct of the Duke of Sauoy, and the Harquebuziers vnder *Dom-Ferrant de Gonzague*. All along the Glade of the wood in descending towards Fauquemberg marched a battaile of Almanes, ledde by the Count *John* of Naissau, and the Marshal of Cleues, on whose flanke marched a troupe of Reistres of about eightene hundred or two thousand horse, vnder the conduct of the Count *Vulfensfort*, who promised the Emperour to march that day vpon the bellye of all the Kinges men at armes; followed not farre off with a number of light cauallerie, of about one thousand or twelue hundred horse, with foure fildes peeces more. The Harquebuziers then being entred into the wood, encountred with the three hundred French, as fresh and with as good a will to recharge them as they had done at the first. And therevpon grew faire and hot skirmishes. Now albeit that the Imperials arriued there in farre greater number, yet they behaued themselves so valiantly that they kept them a long time back, so as many remained on eche side as well dead as hurt, and taken prisoners: among other of the French, the Captaine *Fort*, and his Lieutenant *Courcelles*. Hereupon the Duke of Guise, who from the beginning had vndertaken the defence of this wood, and by his presence animated and seemed to grace these martiall actions, hauing carefully considered of the whole dessein of the Imperiales, aduised the King that by their countenance and fury wherewith they went to the combate, hee verily thought that that day should not passe without a battaile. The King then which was in the plaine on this side the wood, about 5000. pace in length, and 2000. in breadth, caused his battailes of foote to be put in order, to scituatue them in a place commodious and easie to combate with the men at armes, because that place was vnproper for them both to gether, as by the aduice of the Constable and sundry other Princes and Captaynes, he had the day before perceaued. Notwithstanding for the better countenance and to make head to the enemy, there was lodged both the one and the other as commodiously as could be; the first battell of foote were French, the second Almanes, the third Zuizers, which followed one another with Regiments of men at armes ordained for their flanke on their right hand. And for as much as on the lefte there was a little Valley, which as well from the quarter of the Zuizers towards Fauquemberg, as towards the wood, widening made a glade easie and commodious enough, as well to lodge foote as horse, in the opening of that plaine they set the most parte of the rest of the Regiments of men at armes for the other flanke. And right before towards Fauquemberg was the D. *D'auemale* with all the light Cauallerie, and certaine Harquebuziers on foote to fight, without keeping any order, to the end they might giue notice if the enemy should come that way. And in the mean space the Duke of Guise not being able readily to haue the K. answer vpon such occurrents, being likewise no lesse curious to draw the enemy into the place most aduantageous for himselfe, then fearefull of the losse of the three hundred Harquebuziers in the wood, in the end resolved to make them retire from place to place, through the trauerfes of the

the wood, euer refreshing them with some companies of Cauallerie, which notwithstanding so encreased the imperials courage, as assuring themselves of victorie, they caused their battailes of Almanes to march with al diligence which alwaies flankred them on the rightside, as they sawe their harquebuziers haue aduantage ouer the French. And euen then *Dom-Ferrant* sent word vnto the Emperour that he should hasten the rest of his army, for the Vantgarde of the French said he was already fore shaken, ready to set themselves in disorder: the which the Emperour did, and his army passed all along the Valley about, and at one of the corners of the wood himselfe tarried, to be partaker of the pleasure or annoy of the good or bad which should fall out: it was then as the K. answer came to the D. of Guise, that if occasion offered it selfe to receaue battaile, he should not refuse it; that he would come himselfe thither in person with as good a will to fight, as the most valiant of his whole army. Then the Duke of Guise went back to his Regiment in the sight and face of all vpon the plaine towards Fauquemberg; where of a famous warriour, gracious notwithstanding and with a smiling countenance, hee vsed some words, as well to aduertise the Gentlemen, of the faire occasion which that day was offered to attaine honour, as to encourage those which might haue any neede; and shewed them all in generall, how the day was come wherein God presented vnto them (in doing seruice to their Princes and encreasing their honor and particular reputation) the matter and true subiect, to make themselves for euer to be redoubted and feared of all the nations of the worlde, whereof the K. assured himselfe so farre, as he would honour this glorious victory with his owne presence, which indeed encouraged them in such sorte, as hauing called vpon the name of God, and recommended their soules into his hands, euery man prepared himselfe well and faithfully to perfourme his dutie. In the mean time the Constable passed ouer the riuier towards the Duke with a Regiment of the Captaine *Glamay* his footmen, who caused the first order a litle to be altered; and retired the battaile of Zuizers towards Renty, who according to their ancient custome, sent vnto the King to demaund some men at armes to supporte them, but the K. answered them, how himselfe would liue and dye with them, and that he so farre assured himselfe of their promise and good will, that he determined no whit to abandon them, resolute to shew vnto them, how as well in life, as point of death, if it were offered he would honour them as his colleagues and faithfull frends both to himselfe and his kingdome: whereat they were so stirred vp, as there was no other intention among them, but to fight valiantly for his seruice. Likewise as a testimonye of the pleasure which the King receiued therein, he did that which I will shew you in another place. As all this was thus a handling, the Imperials were in such sort already advanced vpon the French, as they had recoyled them, and driuen the out of the wood so farre, as their harquebuziers began to come forth, and shew themselves in front of the first battail of the French, ready to ioine with them, pelting at them with a continuall and marvellous noyse of Harquebuzes shot all along the glade. The Imperial battaile supported with Pistoliars and cauallerie, was aproched with one hundred pace of the French, and there remained nothing but to charge, at such time as the D. of Guise gaue a signe to the D. of Nemours, to charge with his regiment of light Cauallerie vpon one of the corners of the Pistoliars, and vpon the other hee set the Guidon of his owne company, and *Tauannes* to scoure on their flanke, whereupon there began a most fore and furious combat; but the French were in the end valiantly put backe, and there was slaine the yong Baron of Curton, *Randin* sore hurt, and his Lieutenant *D'Amanzay* dead, the Cornet of *Auannes* sore hurt, and his horse

The D. of Guise, speech to the Gentlemen of his company.

The K. answer to the Zuizers

slaine

The second
combate in
which the impe-
rials were over-
throwne.

slaine vnder him, *Forges* Guidon of the company of *Tauannes* slaine, the Vicecount *D'Auchy* Guidon of the Duke of Guise's fore hurt, and sundry valiant men out of all the companies, as the Sonnie of *Pied-pape*, yong *Iouy*, *Bourdilly*, yong *Branches*, and many others; whose death, hurt, and retreats gaue such hart to the Imperiales so well to hope, as they already encouraged one another, as hauing gained an entire victory: whereupon the Duke of Guise and *Tauannes*, hauing assembled their troupes together againe, the which the D. *D'Aumalle* with all the light Cauallerie went to ioine, began with one fronte so furiously to charge vpon the Imperiales, as they opened, and threw downe the Pistoliers of *Vuluenfort* so rudely, as they themselves brake the battaile of their Almanes to retire, who might best, whilest that the Duke of *Neuers* who had his Regiment placed along the glade towards *Ranty*, passed betwene the battaile of the Almanes and the French, to charge in a heape vpon all the Spanish Harquebuzerie, which by fauour of their cauallerie was already come out of the wood, which they performed so couragiously, and with such violence, as they were all ouerthrowne and put to flight; yea in such disorder as they suddenly turned their back, to escape and get into the wood, where there were taken and razed seuentene Ensignes of footmen, siue Cornets of horse, and foure fielde peeces which they found cleane abandoned all along the glade. The Admirall then who was the first which alighted before the battaile of the French, caused a number of Souldiers to leaue their rankes still to follow the victory, who entring within the wood at the beginning made a great slaughter of their enemies, ridding all such as they met of their miserable liues, by the cruell edge of their sword. There were the Emperours Pistols found and brought vnto the King, whilest that the companies of men at armes pursued the victorie all along the glade and borders of the wood, especially the light Cauallerie and *Tauannes* his company, which descended downe into the bottome of the valley, where was likewise defeated a great number of those which were come downe out of the wood, hoping to gaine their Campe. The rest of the troupes tarried vpon the top of the valley, vpon which they straightwaies made the Emperours artillerie to playe, which remained on the other borde his side, whereby his people might somewhat the more fauourablye retreat. But to answer him, the French was as soon leuelled against the corner of the wood, which made his quickly retoyle backe, the battailes of the footmen which were already come together vpon this top in the plaine, still attending what might further ensue. During this time the Emperor caused his Campe with all diligence to be razed, trenched and fortified: doubting of a more hotte pursute. But the night comming on, was an occasion to the French to passe the rest of the time in peace, and to content themselves with the happy issue of this reencounter. Now for that the companies of the men at armes of the D. of Guise, *Neuers*, *Bourdillon*, and *Tauannes*, were the first which fought, and most hotly pursued their enemies, the King was so highly contented therewith, as he knighted the cheefe Captaines and principall members thereof. Among the rest *Tauannes* whome hee greatlye honoured, and gaue vnto him the order which he wore about his owne neck, vsing towards the rest great liberalitie, especially towards those as presented vnto him either Ensignes, Cornets, or artillerie, which they had taken or found abandoned. After the encounter the French Captaines viewed ouer their bandes, to know thole which had bene slaine or hurt, where there were found of dead about two hundred or tweluescore: but the Emperour lost there thrise as many men: for the charge and onfet of the French was at the first so furious, as without respect of any, nor tarrying about prisonners, all such as presented themselves before them, were

Number of the
dead French and
Imperial.

were heuen in peeces, so as the D. of Sauoy and *Dom Ferrant* to saue themselves were faine to runne into the thicke of the wood, where they remained so long, as it was a great time before any newes could be heard of *Dom Ferrant*, so as hee was esteemed either to be dead or taken prisoner. And there was also taken a Colonel of the Almanes, which a Harquebuser found within the wood fore hurt, who being kept by the Baron of *Fontenay*, dyed a few daies after in his handes. A Spanish Captaine named *de Castres*, who saide hee had bene page to the Admirall, being abandoned for dead, was taken by another Harquebuser, to whome they gaue so good entertainment, as within few daies after his wounds being brought into good plight, for a small ranfome he was sent away, and conueied vnto the Castle of *Renty*. There was likewise taken prisoner, a gentleman of great vertue and knowledge of the Emperours chamber, named *De Sily*, who afterward was employed to mediate a peace betwene these two Princes.

After that the K. was retired with his battaile into his first stand, the Constable encamped the same night within the wood, with all the Vantgard, in the very place of victorie, but with small rest notwithstanding; for that all the night the Imperiales kept themselves in battaile, the two armies remaining in great doubt one of the other, for the French presumed how that the Emperour being a couragious & magnanimous Prince, would neuer endure such a losse, without doing of his best for reuenge: but he seeing himselfe weak, and so vnfauoured of fortune, knowing the puissance of the K. feared least he would turn all his forces to defeat him for altogether. So as hauing with all diligence possible, caused his Campe to be enclosed about round with great trenches, by peep of day we might see them in so great forwardnes, as they rested as impregnable. The same day notwithstanding to make an end of his part, the K. sent the Constable to view whether there could be any access or means to go search the out within their owne fort, who gaue aduise of an impossibilitie, without danger of loosing thereby a great number of valiant men: so this day passed peaceably ouer on each side, still continuing for all that the battery against the castle, vntill night that the Emperour caused all his artillerie to be discharged in signe of great ioy, and reioycing for the good newes which he had receaued of the defeate of *Peter Strofsy*, and a great number of the French partie in Italy. I will tell you else where how the matter was: vpon this the fifteenth day of the moneth, the retreat of the army into France was resolved of in full councell, as well for want of prouisions for horses, as to change the ayre, which was already infected and corrupted with the stinche of carrins and dead horses, whereof the plague is quickly engendred, and other diseases very contagious in an army; alleading in like sorte that the K. would not lose so many braue men as followed him, before so little a place, and of no worth; but for all that the K. meant first to aduertise the Emperour therof, and sent him word that it was not for any doubt of him, and that if hee would assure him that he would meet him, he would tarry for him foure long houres on the way, as he did: for hauing caused the Cartes and baggage to be sent away, the armye wholly remained in battaile more then three howres in the same place, where the Monday before they had fought. But none presenting themselves, and knowing how that the Imperiales were close shutte vp in their Campe, hauing in their sight set fire on all the Villages about, they began with a losse march to retire, looking back sometimes to see if they were followed. And so late enough arriued at *Montcaure*, a league from *Montereul*, where they sojourned 3. daies together, still to learn out & vnderstand the enterprises of the emperor, the which as long as the French forces were still assembled, the King might more easi-

lye preuent, and meete with them if they should put into the fildes. But hauing certaine intelligence how the armie was not as yet departed from their first lodging in the plaines of Marque, and that the Emperour expressly tarried to see the reparations and amendements of Rente, the K. purposed in like sort to giue some rest and refreshing to his owne; Notwithstanding that before the fide dayes were out, want of forage and euill ayre of the marshes caused them to dislodge and come neerer to Montreuil, where they sojourned fide other dayes entire; the K. being lodged in the Charter house, and the Campe pitched all along the little riuer of Cauche, where the English and Scottish companies receiued an euill bobbe, in being scattered and lodged two leagues farther the the Vantgarde, in a village called Marenlo, where the imperials hauing receaued aduertisement thereof, and being guided by one of the same village, were to surprize them at midnight, so as their lodgings being set on fire, some of the masters, seruants, and horses tyed were burned, some slaine, and some carried away prisonners: wherupon the Emperour being retired to S. Omer, without hauing any meanes to be able to vndertake any matter of great importance or damage to the French; as also that the Winter and euill weather threatened him, the K. departed thence with the D. of Guise, and certaine gentlemen of his house to goe to Compeugne, after he had well munitioned and fortified the garisons of the townes of Ardres, and Bolongne, to make head & keep strong against his enemy, if he would besiege him: the Constable remaining cheefe of the ouerplus of the army, as well to keepe it vnited, as the better and more readily to be able to prouide for whatsoeuer the Emperour could vndertake: whose guiles the French haue alwaies feared, especially vpon the end of a warre; wherupon they took occasion to charge now & then vpon his campe, as well thereby to know and learne some thing, as to keep scout for the fouragers, who were faine to goe very far to recouer victuals and forage for their horses, who hauing no more left to nourish them withall, they were enforced againe to dislodge and passe ouer the riuer on the other side, where the army was pitched & encamped in the villages of Brameu, Espimeu, Beaurin, & al alongst the riuer shoare. They taried there certain daies, fearing least the Emperour should besiege Montreuil, Ardres, or Dourlan: notwithstanding being aduertised how his Souldiers for want of pay, victuals, and other commodities, dissolued themselves: the constable not to consume the rest of the victuals of the frontire (which were alreadye greatly diminished and growne deare) sent home the riribands to their houses, and dismissed the Zuizers well contented & satisfied, as wel with their pay, as with the order of knight-hood bestowed by the K. vpon *Mandosse* their General, and vpon the Captains *Theodore Inderhalden* Colonel of the Cantons, and *Petroman Clerly* Colonel of the townes, and *Aonis* who was afterwarde the K. Embassadour to the Grizons, a few daies after being accompanied with the Marshal *S. Andre*, he came vnto the K. who gaue the conduct of the rest of the army to the D. of Vendosme: wherupon the emperor who had alwaies delaied and dissembled his determination, seeing his forces diminished suddenly, called backe certaine companies which before hee had caused to departe the campe, to drawe towards Hedin. The which the D. of Vendosme foreseeing, & that he meant to be reuenged in burning the flat country, as the French had done his, caused this camp to dislodge, stil to accost him and hold him in such awe, as he should not scatter his army, so as hauing passed the riuer of Authie, hee encamped that night at Dampierre, vntill the next morrow about noone, when as hee was aduertised how the most part of the Imperial army and caullery was come down to Auchy, a Castle appertaining to the Count of Aiguemont, and had fired the same, broken & defeated certaine

The K. army dissolved.

certaine companies of light caullery, which the Duke doubting of their coming to hinder the passage of the riuer had sent thither. The which caused him suddenly to raise his Campe from Dampierre, and imagining by the course which his enemye tooke, that he meant to besiege Abbeuille or Dorian, hee approached neerer to these two places, the which he furnished and fortified with what cuer was necessarye. Afterwards on the morrow being the first of September, he passed the riuer of Somme, and pitched his Campe at Pondormy, a place very commodious both to keepe the Country and passage of the riuer: the same day the Imperials began to make waste, and to burne the flat Country which the French had abandoned, for two or three leagues compasse, encamping at Saint Requier, two leagues from the French, whom they thought should not dislodge thence without battaile offered, or some charges or other braueries perfourmed: an occasion that the next morning early the D. of Vendosme sent his light caullerie with three hundred men at armes to supporte them, vnder the conduct of the Prince of Anguian, who approached as neere their Campe as he was able, and kept them so as they should not scatter to burne and destroye the villages, holding them in such awe and subiection, that they alwaies marched in troupes close together: at night the French ouerthrew at their taile certain waggons laden with victualles, which were nothing but apples, bonillons, and very naughtye bread: the which caused them to think that in so great want and necessitie of victuals they would not long keepe themselves encamped: notwithstanding they marched afterwards all along the riuer of Authie, and set fire on the Castles and Villages alongst as they passed. As at Dampierre, Daurye, Marchy, Marchye, Mainthenay, and diuers other places: an occasion that the Duke of Vendosme sent sixe score men at armes as well of his company as of the Marshall *S. Andres*, with 9. Ensignes of foote to lodge in the Towne of Montreuil, which the Imperiales made countenance as though they meant to besiege: wherof being aduertised, and changing their purpose, they returned back to passe the Riuer of Authie, and descended into the Marshes belowe Hedin, betweene the riuer and an other which commeth out of the County of S. Poul, in a place called Mefnil, fit to be fortified for the keeping and assurance of the baliadge of Hedin, and county of S. Pol. Then on the twelfth of September they began to reare and build vp a forte, hauing for the more speedy dispatch of the defence, leauied a great number of Pionners and labourers out of the Countreyes about, which they did without any let, for besides that they were within their landes, the French army was maruelously diminished and lessened euery day, both by reason of sicknesse among the Souldiers, as of the companies which were sent vnto the townes, which were threatned with a siege at hand. This done, the D. of Vendosme knowing his Souldiers to be very weary with the long trauaile of this voyage, to refresh and solace them, brake vp his Campe, and sent certaine companies of men at armes of the most tired, to winter in their ancient Garrisons, and his light caullerie in places neere to the enemy, and to helpe and succour the poore people, to husband and sowe their fildes. The foote companies of French, English, and Scottish, were lodged in the Townes and Borrogues all alongst the banke of the Riuer of Some. The Almanes of the County of *Reingraue*, and Baron of Fronenay, at S. Esprit de Reux; which they caused to be fortified for a counterforte to Mefnil, and those of the Count Rocardolphe, and Reisberge, tooke their way towardes Piemont and Italy.



The Historie of Fraunce.

THE THIRD BOOKE.



Ou haue already scene how the French and the Imperialles fought out one another with as great stomacke as euer: eche of them the more forward, thorough the presence of their Princes, which as then conducted the armies, when as *Henry* with great fury battered the castle of *Renty*, and had carried it, had not the Emperour brought thither all his forces, the better to encourage them which were besieged, and allaye the fury of the French, by the skirmishes and hotte sallies which he caused to be vnderaken by the cheefest of his army, so as the French albeit they carried away the honour of the memorable re-

encounter which I haue mencioned, (in which the Spanish Fanterie put to rout, the Almane Pistoliers of Count *Vul-uert*, since called *Reisters*, were broken and put to flight by the French Cauallerie) were yet in the end constrained to quit the place, retrying themselves in march, as if they should haue presented bataille to the Imperialles, from which the Emperour kept them thorough the fauour of his trenches. Afterwards the two Princes hauing for the reasons which I alleadged elsewhere, broken & dissolued their armies, wherof they placed a good part in the garrisons of their frontiers, the better to be able continually to vndertake an enterprise more secretly, & as opportunity serued, helde themselves a long time vpon their garde, without much discovering themselves, through the discommodities of the Autumne, and violence of the blustering Winter: employing themselves onely in some surprises and secret intelligences, wherof verie fewe succeeded so well as the vndertakers desired. These two Princes in the meane space pricked forward, no lesse with enuye, then a reciprocal ambition, boyling with a worldye desire of reuenge, by the remembrance of so great losses, old & new offences, made ready al kinde of preparatiues for a war at hand, and much more bloudye then the former; so as the brute being spread throughout France of the rodes which the Imperial garrisons stil made, the French therby soone tooke occasion to march vnder the Marshall of *S. Andre*, for to surprise, scale, at breake of daye, and cutte into peeces, whomsoever they should finde in armes, in the Castle of *Cambresy*. At what time the Spaniards had notwithstanding the fa-

uour

uour of a faire warre, to retire themselves whether it liked them best. About the beginning of the same spring *Bouillon* as the K. lieutenant in the absence of the D. of *Neuers* Gouvernour of *Champaigne*, was sent thither to rescue those of *Mariembourg*: afterwards to enterprise vpon the enemy as occasion should be offered, for the Imperialles meant no lesse to the place then to the Garrison, because that this Towne (hauing before bene a Village and pleasant seate of *Mary* widdowe to *Lewis* King of *Hungarie*, which she had caused to be most curiously builded and fortified, whilst that she was gouernesse of the Countrey for the Emperour her Brother) was builded and raised vp much stronger, and farre better provided then before: yea the K. would needs bestowe his owne name thereof, as this Princess before had done hers: which notwithstanding more happye in that, could not out of the memorye of the people bordering round about.

The three and twentieth of March Pope *Iulye* the third of that name deceased, after hauing taken great paines in the latter end of his yeares, to reconcyle these two great Lordes, whome himselfe before had set to debate: an occasion that the ninth day of Aprill the Cardinall *Marcel Cernin* of *Montpulciens* in *Tuscane*, was chosen and proclaimed Pope, who by no meanes would change his name as the rest were wonte to doe. He was Bishop of *Nicaestre*, and Cardinal of the title of *Holye crosse* in *Hierusalem*, who died poysoned for all that, as some affirme, the two and twentieth day of his election, for that he was of too good a life. But in very truth as hee was before giuen to be sicke of the yellowe launders, the disease grewe so fore vpon him in his olde yeares, as hee dyed the three and twentieth day of his Papacye. True it is that a fewe dayes before his death he made himselfe be crowned with very small expences, and very modestly. Now as he was very wise, so men had a great hope that he would correct many thinges in the Romish Church, and especially that he would chase away all the dissolution and superfluitie thereof, from whence the brute of his poysoning did growe: for indeede hee abolished the superfluities of gardes, and other honours which the first Bishops of *Rome* knew not once what they meant. Afterwards the three and twentieth of May the Cardinals those in their conclaue, the Cardinall *Iohn Pierre Caraffa*, Deane of the Colledge called *Theatin* Neapolitain, named *Paul* the fourth, esteemed to be a man very eloquent and learned. The first author (being a Monke at *Venise*) of *Iesuites*, of whome I will speake else where. For at diuers times, and throughout all the Prouinces of *Christendome*, yea as farre as the East and West Indies, they haue engrauen and thundred out the name of their profession, thorough the merite of their paines, incredible hazardes and cruelties, which they haue suffered among the Barbarians, for the name of *Christ*.

In this time *Philip* of *Austria*, by *Mary* King of *England*, as well to appease the mutinyes which were growne betweene the English malcontentes thorough the alliance with a Stranger, and other greued with the change of the Protestant Religion for the Romane, as the better to entertaine traffique and other commodities with the French, one parte of the great riches of that insularie kingdome, curious on the other side of the generall good and repose of *Christendome*, refused not with *Charles* the Emperour his Father, and *Henry* the second, to hearken to a vniuersall peace, especially at the perswasions of the English Cardinall *Poole*, who hauing passed betweene the Emperours and the King of France, did maruelously sollicite them to a good accorde: whereunto the rather to induce them, he insisted both by woordes and wrighting. Among other meanes and perswasions, wherewith hee serued himselfe to bring them to this poynt, he vsed these.

P 3

Whilist

Mariembourg.

Pope Iulye 3. deceased.

Pope Marcel poysoned.

Pope Paul 4.

Iesuites.

Cardinal Pole
his perswasions
to a peace.

Whilest that you make ciuill warre one vpon another, the Turke stretcheth out at large his dominion, and hath already taken two fortes by land and Sea, to wit Belgrade and Rhodes, by meanes whereof hee hath made his way as farre as Bude, and is growne maister of the Danube; that if God had not raised him up the K. of Persia for an enemye, it is very likely that long since he had put all Christendome vnder his obedience. By this occasion many false Christians are so multiplied in diuers places, with such corruption of all kinde of discipline, as well ecclesiasticall as ciuill, as your power is not great enough to punish and correct them, which the mutinies growne in so many places well declare, the offices of religion left, the schismes and heresies which in the meane time engender and grow throughout all Countries; you ought to consider your own dutie, and aboue all that you be Princes of christian religion. And albeit that God hath permitted Satan; (the author of all mischeefe, who goeth about to fittie the Church like Corne) to moue warre among you who are the two most principall and noblest members of the Church, yet hath hee not permitted his malice to exceede prophane and ciuill actions: for hee hath countergerarded you entirely in one religion, in one same faith and opinion, assembled and vnitied in one selfe same body of the Church: otherwise it were not possible to finde meanes to set you at accorde. And albeit that many other Princes are reuolted from the Church, and that the enemye of mankind hath spread his malice throughout, God notwithstanding hath looked vpon you in pittie, and brought to nought the attemptes of the Deuill. In which as for a certain signe of his bounty and clemency towards you, he sheweth that finally he wil be serued by you, and vnitie you with one fraternall bond, together with his Vicar on earth, to take away these so perillous discordes, and restore againe peace, as well in the ciuill as ecclesiasticall estate.

Pole alleadged many other thinges to this purpose, greatly threatning them with the wrath and vengeance of God, if they did not leaue of these their passions, and take compassion of the poore people so greatly afflicted. And albeit that he preuailed nothing, yet for so much as the affaires of England came to his with, hee insisted in such sorte, as hee caused the Emperour and the King of France to come to this poynte, to sende Embassadors on the one parte and the other. The Queene of England who caried her selfe neuter in this cause, caused a place to bee chosen neate and proper in the field, betweene Cales, Ardes, and Graueline, Townes vnder the subiection of England, France, and Burgondie, scituate as in a tryangle, then hauing made cast a trenche round, she caused foure lodgings to be reared vp for the time onely, but commodious enough; where the three and twentieth daye of May the Embassadors assembled. On the Emperours parte the Bishop of Arras, among other for the French King were the Cardinall of Lorraine, and the Constable; for England to mediate the Peace, was Pole, the Earle of Arundel, and Paget. The brute hereof being spread abroade, gaue men occasion to think and hope for much, especiallye those who vnderstoode not the deapth of the differences: for there was question made of the Duchies of Milan, Bourgondie, Sauoye, Piemont, Corse, Nauarre, Lorraine, Luxebourg, of the Townes of Thou, Verdun and Metz: matters hauing beene long and stiffely debated, as among other difficulties, the English mediators were of opinion that the knowledge of certaine of the differents, were fitt to be referued to the deciding of a Councell, they all departed thence without doing ought. The tenth of Iune *Ferdinande* and the estates of the Empire, besought the Emperour by their letters, that in treating of peace, he would haue especiall regarde to what the K. of France had taken away from the Empire. Now nothing being accorded betweene the Embassadors, the Emperour wrote backe fiftene dayes after to the estates in like substance.

I greatly

The place appointed to treat
of the Peace.

The Emperours letters to the states.

I Greatly reioyced to see that you tooke pittie of those whom the enemye to my selfe and the Empire hath sacked. I alwaies had especial care that they should be restored into their former estate, and before I receiued your letters, I gaue expresse charge to my Embassadors, and principall Councellors depused for a peace, that they should in any wise presse this, without yeelding one tuche. And albeit that in all the treaties of peace which I haue made, I thought in respect of the publike tranquillitie they would not bee to obstinate, yet they are departed away without doing ought, and notwithstanding I doe not refuse a peace for the good of Christendome, so as they make me any reasonable offers, and as opportunitie shall be offered. I will straine myselfe to get such goods as haue beene pluckt from the Empire restored into their former estate. See how God which hath the harts of Kings in his hands, making each partie to iudge the others demands to vnreasonable, would not permit Christendome so soone to enioy a benefit so much desired. In fort that each one keeping himselfe vpon feare of a surprisal, easily made his neighbor thinke, how the cariages of the Garrisons round about tended to more high enterprises. So as these two Princes tickled with the like feare, and quickly taking one anothers actions for a sufficient defiance of warre, as *Henrie* deuided his men where he saw it most needfull, the Emperour first put his armie into the field of twentie thousand fighting men vnder *Martin Roussan* bastard of Cleues, who after many roades, burnings, and vncredible waits all along the Meuse, encamped at Deux Giuets, minding to build a fort vpon that mountaine, at the foot whereof this riuer runneth, there by to bridle all the quarters round about, & make a sure retreat there for all such as were able to endamage the French. The D. of Neuers in the meane space hauing taken good order for *Maizieres*, and other places of importance, resolued by the K. commaundement to victuall well Mariemburg. And to that end hauing speedily and secretly made ready all preparations as well of men as victuals, munitions, and companies vnder the Comte of Retheloix, he sent three hundred harquebusiers as well French as English and Scots, mounted to discover and bring backe word to the cheefe of the eight hundred light horse, which followed them, what they should discry: who with the leader of the vanguard of two hundred men at armes, and eight ensignes of fantassins which marched after, and a number of harquebusiers close to the winges of the wagons, provided thereto what foecer was needfull according to the generals commaundment, who led the battell of three hundred men at armes, and eight ensignes of fantassins, hauing on his backe the arrieregard of two hundred men at armes, then one hundred Archers to hasten them, and to aduertise the chefe of euery occurrence. In such sort as this order being thus followed, ioyned thereto the speedines of the march, and well disciplined obedience of the souldiers, was the cause that fve hundred wagons as well of the K. munition as voluntarie Marchants entred in without any disturbance, which either the enemye or badnes of the way could yeeld vnto them, fully perswading themselves throughout all the marche, which was eight long leagues, that they were able enough to make hed to the enemye, when, where, and with what troupes foecer hee would aduance, though he were dubble as strong as the French. Afterwards the D. hauing placed there, and encouraged *Du Fumel* gouernour, & left fiftie men at armes, two hundred light horse, and nine olde companies of the best souldiers on foote, departed thence, and making his vanguard of the hindermost, kept on another way to visit Rocroy, where the Capitane *La Lande* was. So the Garrisons of Campaigne, frontires

frontiers of Haynaut, and countries about being well provided, the imperiall armie was as soone dislodged thorough the infection and discommoditie of victuals which they there endured. So as *Martin Roussan* being dead and many other, the better sorte were sent to Giuets. Whether the D. of Neuers marched with his troupes: against whome the imperials skirmishing, and setting on them with many salies, maintained and doubled by their reciprocal succours, had soone enough recorded a memorable reencounter, considering the aduantage and euident fauour still turning on the French partie, had not *Henrie* expressly forbidden his Lieutenant to fight, but in great, and in the field without assailing them in their fort. So as being retired and disperfed into Garrisons, the rest of the time passed ouer mildly vntill the midst of August, when the Emperour hauing sent the Prince of Orange with new forces to reassemble his troupes, set forth an armie vnder the generall of the house of *Challons*: the effectes whereof notwithstanding was but to keepe in the French, and raise vp the forte *A Couins* neere Mariembourg, which was after called *Philippe Ville*. Besides the Amirall *Gaspard* of Coligny gouernour of Picardie, tooke such order within his frontiers as he left nothing at randome. *Antoine* of Vendosme, had surrendered that gouernment into the K. hands, at such time as being married to *Ioane* of Albert, soale heire to *Henrie* of Albert, he went to take possession of the kingdome of Nauarre, Dutchy of Albert, Earledome of Foix, Armignac, Bigorre, and Soueraintie of Beam, after the decease of his Father in law. Since notwithstanding as some of the Garrisons of Picardie mingled with 15. hundred horse of the Rerebandes, whome they tearme the companies of the nobles, and tlower hundred pioners had so happily ouerturne the countrie round about vnder *La Taille* their generall, as they all returned laden with a rich nauy inestimable bootie, *Hausimont* gouernour of Bapaume, finding them betweene a woode a village and a riuer, (the passages whereof he caused to bee broken downe and kept) without skouts, without order, without any feare of the enemye, and without hart, charged them so roundly with a few men, as in lesse then nought, he made them leaue together with their courage al their rich pickkerie, yea and their verie liues at his deuotion. The wood and the riuer notwithstanding saued a great number, *La Taille* hurt, and more then a third part prisoners the rest died in the place. The which the imperials tooke so greatly to their aduantage, as they could not speake of any other more notable exploite, so farre as it grew to a scoffe among them, how they had taken the nobles of France without weighing the. Albeit that these troupes were not indeede furnished for the most part but of Ronturiers, vnnoble euery kind of way, or of some seruants which the olde or sicke Lordes, widowes and orphelins had sent thither: the gentlemen hauing beene all retired to the ordinances of the K. who ought in respect of his owne honour, and profit of his subiects to reforme such and like lewd abuses, as are committed in the companies of bands and rerebands. In summe the enemies encouraged with such a successe, tooke heart of grace to venter further vpo Picardie: for the defence whereof the D. of Guise retired into the town of his owne name, the Admirall into his gouernment, & the K. himselfe aduanced as far as Villiers Coptoret, the better to assure and dispose his forces where hee should see neede: yet they kept much at this stay, and within a little after the forces of the imperials dissolued without performing any great matter.

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the Marshall *de Brisfac*, and D. of Alua Lieutenants for their Soueranes: for the Marshall hauing opened the passages of *La Vaudose* and of the Alpes, thereby to giue a more easie entrie to all occurrences, as also in Lombardie and Italy, by the surprisall which he had made the winter before of Yuree, and the voluntarie yeelding of Bielle, withall appurtinances vnto it resolved at the spring to stretch out further the bonds of his gouernment. First he fortified *Santia* which some call *Saint Iaco*, a place cleane razed downe, whereunto hauing giuen a square forme, and a great bulwarke on euery flanke, defended with two high platformes, discouering the whole circuit of a Culuerins length, and furnishing it besides, with whatsoeuer the art of that time was able to yeeld, he made it very sufficient to commaund the whole plaine without any subiection: closing vp the passage of *Vercell*, *Crescentin*, and all *Lombardie*, so far as he bridled the commings forth and succours of *Vulpian*, which he determined to famish, if he were not able to enforce it at the second siege which he purposed to lay there. Afterwards he ceased vpon *Crepacuore*, the better to open his way, and keepe the passage free, attending the execution of the enterprize which *Saluison* one of his Captaines was to make vpon *Casal*, a place of the greatest importance & best defended of all that quarter. This chetaine hauing reasonably well profited in learning, in which he was nourished and brought vp by his parents, that by the desert thereof he might come to greater preferment, retired himselfe from the Vniuersities for occasions sleight enough. Whereby giuing himselfe to carrie the sword, and to make profession of armes, hee coule not long endure to liue in France without seeing of Piemont: where the exercise of armes pleased him in such sort, as being first enroled in the muster Booke, then thorough his owne merite honoured with the degree of Corporall, which got him the halbard, afterwards an ensigne of a companie of fanterie, in the end was as well thought of by his Master of the campe, as mounting by all the degrees of warre he grew maruelous well knowne and recommended of euery man. Rich notwithstanding in honours and friendship more then wealth, or other recompences, (which such as carrie not a gentle hart prefer before all gentilitie) so farre as he was made gouernour of *Verrue*: where he wrought and addressed an enterprize which I will declare vnto you, for an instruction to such as will giue them to follow the like traine of armes. Hauing got good intelligence of the towne of the people and munition which was there, by meanes of one *Fantarolle*, a Marchant of Pont de sture who did ordinarily trafique thither: and hauing made ready all his preparatiues to scale it by night, whilst a marriage of one of the most notable inhabitants was solemnised, where *Figuerol* gouernour of the place, which the chiefe of the garison and countrie was assembled, the Phisicians which hee sent to fetch from *Casal* vnder the colour of a counterfaite sickenes, to take away all suspicion which might arise, being no sooner come, but he with *Birague*, *Vimerocat*, and a number of souldiers, which found the guards, sentinels and other the inhabitants almost all a sleepe, made himselfe master of the towne, after a little shedding of their blood which offered to resist him, seasing on the market place, gates, carfoxes, and other places of importance, thorough the helpe of a number of souldiers, which he before had caused to come in, clad in countrie folkes apparell, as if they had ment to sell their fruites to the inhabitants. The compt of *Ladron* notwithstanding, cheefe of the *Almanes*, which hee quickly got together: kept the place a long time against *Saluison* and the Marshall himselfe, whose forces suppress him soone enough, whilst that *Figuerol*, and a number of Spaniards, amased at the crie of France, got haue clad into the Citadel, which the Marshall of *Brisfac* ready with the Cannon battered, and carried away in fower

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Captaine Saluafson.

and twentie howers, with condition of life saued to those that held it, who went away, without carrying any of the munition, whether it best liked them. Thus the tenth day of March, one thousand five hundred fiftie and five, the store of provisions which was prepared for the recouerie of Piemont, was taken, and *Saluafon* established gouernour of the place, whence the assurance of the greater part of the Marquisat of Montserrat depended, which was already in the K. hands, as being the Key of all that prouince, and gape of al Lombardie: afterwards with the same foote he leas- sed of all the forts about, and pushing forward towards *Alexandria*, battered, tooke, and ruined Poman, Saint Saluadour, and other little places not able to hold out, and vnpossible to be fortified so soone as he desired, the better to open to himselfe the way to Milan. Ioynt that he found it more expedient to remit his forces, & increase his army, which he purposed to put into the field, then to deuide the into Bicoques in danger to loose them all vpon the comming of so great an armie as the D. of Alua prepared against him.

In April 1555. there grew a notable change in Italy about the free estate of Syene, touching the principallitie thereof. To the which *Cosme* of Medices newly created Archduke of Tuscane had aspired of a long time: as well for that this common wealth being of so great force and scope was enclosed within his lands of Tuscane, as to render the effects of his power conformable to the title which had beene giuen vnto him. In respect that the accidents therein grew verie diuers and were strangely handled, me thinketh it very reasonable that the course thereof be researched euen from the first originall. The Emperour being leas- sed of Syene in Tuscane, had placed there for gouernour *Don Diego de Mondoze* with a Spannish garrison: against whome, hauing begun a Citadell vnder colour of doing it for the townes defence, but carrying himselfe to seuer towards the inhabitants they al conspired to set them selues at libertie: foreseeing that the Emperour would bring in the forces of the Florentine their enemy against them, and that the Citadell was builded on the way to Florence. *Mondoze* in the meane time vnder colour of defending the people against the insolencies of the Nobles, caused them to lay a side their armies, but exercising his rigor afterwarde on both parties: who being accorded and forgetting their olde quarrels, let the French to vnderstand how rudely they were handled, aduertising them of the strange desseins of the Spaniards throughout all Italy. Against whome they besought succour, beseeching to be receiued vnder their protection, especially considering that this Principallitie would bee a verie fit thing for the K. the better to bridle the Imperials in Italy. Concluding that Kings being established to succour the afflicted, and that Syene hauing beene at al times affectionate vnto the French, deserued not to be refused in so iust a request which brought vnto him nothing but honour and profit, with a maruelous comfort to all Italy. In the ende the succours which they demanded were promised. And albeit that *Cosme* had aduertised *Mondoze*, of all the proceeding hereof: yet he nothing fearing the Sienois being bridled in and vnarmed, set verie light by the aduertisement. So as the conspirators, and other fugitiues throughout all Italy leuied in the K. name fixe thousand men vnder the conduct of *Nicolas* Earle of Petiglian, of Hieronime Pisan, and *Marie de Saint Flour* with a number of Caualerie. Now as it fell out that in this time *Dragut Rais* a famous Corfaire, and cheefe of the Turkes armie by sea scowred all along the coast of Italy, the K. enemies tooke occasion thereby to make the bruite to runne, how that he was come thither to put certaine ports of Tuscane into the French mens hands, which came by sea in Gallies from Marseilles to the succours of the Sienois. So as the Spaniards

The Turkes scoured the coast of Tuscane.

Spaniards began to arme themselves, fortifie places, and to demand succour of the Duke, who sent eight hundred soldiers of prooffe to *Mondoze*, leas- sed themselves of the places and passage of Syene, whereat the inhabitants were so stirred vp, as within a few daies after, they caused the Earle of Petiglian secretly to enter in, with fortie thousand men, who droue the Spaniards out of Syene, with a great slaughter notwithstanding both of the one part & the other. The rest of the Spaniards got them into the Citadell, and into the couent of preaching Friars, which they had fortified. But afterwards with the eight peeces of artillerie, which was taken from them, they droue them out of the fortes, the Earle of Saint Flour arriuing there, with two thousand souldiers which rested of the leaue. In such sort as they tooke the conuent, and afterwards the Citadell, the most part of the chieftaines with the Florentine Capitaines reryring themselves, and so all together by an accord made with the Citizens, they departed out of Syene, and leas- sed of Orbitelle a place seated in a Marsh, but euery way fit to annoy the Sienois. Hereupon the Emperour beeing constrained to quitte Metz, and retired into Germanie, where he vnderstoode of the successe of his affaires in Italy, commanded the viceroy of Naples *Don Garzie de Toledo*, that assembling together all the forces which he possibly could, he should blocke in the Sienois as much as in him lay, Which he accordingly did in January 1548. with twelue thousand footmen and fifteene hundred horse, as well Almanes as Neapolitanes. In the meane time the K. had sent the Cardinall of Ferrare to Syene, and *De Termes* with two thousand pioners, assisted with the D. of Some, Earle of Saint Flour and other of the Vrsins, fortifying the places as they should see neede. *Corneille Bentinuogle* entered into Rosie with fifteene hundred souldiers. *John de Thurin* with three hundred men had the charge of Mont-alcin; Malian was giuen to Chiarmont, and *La Turrite* was gouernour thorough Galeas de Saint Seuerin with three hundred men. *Ciusi* to *Paul* and *Jordan Vrsins* with two thousand men vnder *Afinolonga*. At Monticelle were *Cipierre*, *Guy de Bentinuogle*, and the Earle of Petiglian with five hundred light horse, at Port Telamon was the Earle of Mirendolle, and a Satean, *Ioachim* a Gascoine Capitaine accompanied with two hundred men. So as all *de Termes* his forces deuided throughout all the garrisons amounted to twelue thousand footmen besides the Citizens in great number all enemies to the Spaniards and Florentines. But there was not about five hundred horse: euery man traouailing to fortifie and prouide for their places, *De Termes* and other euen to the verie women tooke maruelous paines to assure *La Capitale*, whilst that the viceroye ouerranne the countrie, and attempted the townes, which hee thought to carrie by open force, surprise, or intelligence. Conducting the armie with *Ascanio de La Corne*, hee tooke some, and was forced to discompe before other, as at Moultaquin, which was succoured with the men which *Bellegard* nephew to *De Termes* caused to enter in. The intelligence which he had in Syene was discovered, and albeit the Cardinall comitted him vnto prison which carried the newes, yet he set him againe at libertie, wherupon this Prelate was euer since suspected of treason.

In this time did *Charles D. of Sauoye*, driven out of his countrie by the Kinge of France, leauing for hire of all his rights his onely Sonne *Philibert Emmanuel*: to whome for recompence of many seruices the Emperour gaue the Earledome of Ast to enioy it vntill he should be able to recover his owne inheritance. *Charles* was buried at Verceil almost in magnificence Royall. In the meane space the Marshall *Brissac* Lieutenant general for the K. in Piemont, hauing taken Yvrce and Verceil without the Cattle, and pilld the treasures of the *Sauoyon* within the Church of Saint

D. of Sauoye.

Saint Eustace, astonished many men in Lombardie. But approaching neere Milan, Ferdinand Gonzague came verie fitly with forces for the Emperour. An occasion that *Brissac* retired backe to Yurce, and quitted Verceil which he was not able to keepe without the Citadell.

Isle of Corse.

The Imperials then not able to master Siene retired by little and little: so as *De Termes* had leasure enough to passe into Corse, and there to take the Towne of Saint Florent and Boniface, a porte of the Sea, in times past the porte of Siracuse, from the Genowaies which gouerned there in parte. From whence retiring into France, being called backe by his Prince, he left behinde him a good Garrison, and *Jordan Vrsin* his Maiesties Lieutenant to commaund there, with a number of French Captaines. The King in the meane time to be reuenged of the Duke of Florence, who held the Emperours cause against him and the Sienois, *De Termes* being called home, sent *Pierre Strossy* for his Lieutenant General into Tuscane, with a number of men at armes, charged to draw vnto him his Brother the Prior of Capoue, who was retired from the seruice of the French, the which he did, and went with him to La Mirandelle to raise there an army. Being arriued at Siene, and communicating his charge with the Cardinall of Ferrara, he thought it not best that he should declare himselfe so soone for many reasons: especially for that he had no iust occasion to warre against the Florentine, except it were founded vpon the ancient and immortal hatred betweene the Strozis and Medices, *Strozzy* notwithstanding leuiued at Rome, Vrbin, and other places, where men make market of their life, as many men as hee was able: whereof the Florentine aduertised Pope *Iuly*, exhorting him to driue the French out of Tuscane, and suppress the glory of the Sienois, promising him that that done, he would giue his daughter in mariage to the nephew of his holynes, and giue her a better portion then all the rest of his children, sauing the Prince: setting downe in like hand vnto the Emperour the danger of his estates in Italy, if the King should make himselfe more great in Tuscane, and the meanes which might growe vnto him both in Lombardy and the kingdome of Naples: in such sort as the Pope and the Emperour ioyning themselves with him, gaue charge to *Jacques Le Medecin*, Marquesse of Marignan, a valiant and wife Cheefe to leaue an army to this effect: who gathering together all his forces, and assuring himselfe in his espials and diligences, more then any other meanes, did so much as the Sienois fearing nothing, and forgetting the charge which their Gouvernour had giuen vnto them, to finishe the fortifications of their Towne: *Rodolphe Baglion Perusin* generall of the light cavallerie comming about the beginning of January 1554. by night to Siene, with such diligence, and so secret was without the care of *Laurens de Chastillon*, who made the round vpon the walles, the Towne had become imperiall: yea the Florentines themselves confessed that after the assault well defended, if the Sienois had but falied out vpon them, tyred with so long trauaile and sleepe, they had bene all defeated. But the Cardinall fearing least they might haue some intelligence within the towne, contented himselfe with those which were slaine on the diches and rampire: the Marquesse notwithstanding encamping before the Towne, waited the whole Country; afterwards he battered the towne so furiously, as he had put them in great necessity, had not *Strozzy* who already had well furnished the strong places of the Country, by his entry into the Town, encouraged the hearts of the besieged, and diminished as much the hope of the enemies. Of whome hauing vnderstoode how *Baglion* and *Afcane de la Corne* had enterprised vpon Chiusi one of the twelue ancient Cities of Hetruria, he went to charge them with sixe hundred Souldiers so hottely, as *Baglion* remaining there dead, and de

Siene defeated by the Marquess of Marignan.

La Corne prisoner, (afterwardes sent captiue into Fraunce) the affaires of the Emperour beganne to growe in euill case. Ioynte that the Kinge to make himselfe the stronger in Italy, sent ouer and aboue the supplye of siue thousand souldiers Zuizers and Gascons, with some light Cavallerie promising besides to send vnto him succours by Sea, which entred into Siene without the enemies being witting thereof at all. The which emboldned *Strossy* to come forth with sixe thousand footmen, and siue hundred chosen horse, manie Sienois following him, whose going forth was no lesse concealed from the Imperials then their entrance in. Afterwardes hauing giuen *Moriane*, (a place appertaining to the Luguois) for rendezuons vnto his armie which was to come out of Lombardie, he ouerranne diuers places of the Florentines. He tooke Montalcin and Montcarles, which he fortified to the great astonishment of the Duke of Florence, who fearing to loose his owne while hee sought for an others, caused the Marquesse to retire from the siege, to defend the Countrie of Florence, because that *Strossy* his forces were ioyned vnto him. Then the Marquesse finding him selfe not to bee strong enough, put himselfe within Petcia, there to attende the succours which *Camille Colone*, and *Iohn de Lunes* were to bring vnto him. *Strossy* was determined to charge him vpon the suddaine, but hee retyred to Scraual and Pistoie with such disorder, as it gaue occasion to manie to wish that there had bene a better iudgement in *Strossy* then hee had, so faire meanes of hot pursuite being offered vnto him, whereby hee might cleane haue taken awaie such an enemy out of Tuscane, but *Strossy* saide hee did it to gratifie the souldiers which were wearie, and tyred with the long march which they had made. In the ende, the Imperial armie growing stronger, and the succours out of France not being come vnto him, hee was faine to quitte the fiede, and retyre himselfe into Siene. In the meane time *Léon* the Brother of *Pierre Strossy*, tooke certayne thippes of Genoway, laden with Corne, into which hauing put a number of souldiers hee ouerranne the coast of Tuscane, and scouring the portes alongst the Fountine Seas, after manie harmes which hee had made them to endure, he came and Ankered before Scarlin, a small Towne, and without renoune: which while hee was viewing for the skaling of it, hee dyed of an Harquebuse shot which perced his heade. Whereuppon his Brother beeing greatlie passioned, caused the siege to bee continued whether the succours of Fraunce came vnto him beeing conducted by *Montluc*. Then hauing vnited together his forces, hee made vp his armie of sixe thousand Italians, two thousand Gascons, as manie Zuizers, two thousand siue hundred Almans, and one thousand horse, as well light, as of the Ordinance, with which leauing *Montluc* in Siene hee besieged and battered Ciuitelle, a little Towne of the Florentines, which the Marquesse went to defende esteeming it a place of consequence in a fertile soyle, and seruing as a porte and Bulwarke to the Dukes Countries. Hee was there so secretelye, and with such speede, as hee defeated and astonied manie of the Kinges parte: but *Strossy* repulled him in such a sorte, as besides a great number of them were taken, and the rest of them were slaine, the garde pryor of Lomberdie and *Marie de Saint Flour*, and sundry other of the Marquesse side remained there captiues. *Strossy* in the meane time beeing enforced to dis campe seeing that there was no possibiltye of carrying awaye the place, by reason of the Marquesse his neighbourhoode, addressed himselfe to Foyanbelle,

Ciuitelle besieged by the French.

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a strong and rich place, which *Carlot Vrsin* helde, who sent the Marquisse worde, that hee was able to defend it but three dayes without succours. But the assault was such vpon the very first daye, as *Carlot* and all his souldiours were put to the edge of the sworde, and the place to fire and blood. Hecreupon the Marquisse beeing approached, the two armies passed certaine dayes in continuall skitmisses, fauourable sometime to the one, and sometimes to the other partie. And for that the French Artillerie greatlie annoyed the Imperials, who daye by daye yielded themselves vnto *Strossi*, the rest were retained by offer of a larger pay, especially the King partie if they would retire: which some did, and had beene followed by sundry other, had not *Strossi* playde a Counter knacke in presenting more pay and fauour then the Marquisse. But drawing towardes Montpulcian, a number of Italians abandoned him, which greatly encouraged the Marquisse to charge him in this aduantage, which the better to auoide, *Strossi* purposing to retire him selfe by the mountaines, sent his Artillerie before for feare of loosing of it, thinking thorough the fauour of the mountaines and ryuers bordering about, to retarde the pursuite of the Marquisse. Who notwithstanding pressed him so neere as hauing stayed him betweene Martian, Lufignen, and Foyan Royall Cities well bearen with the Artillerie, and the Captaine *Bighet* an Italian, carrying *Strossi* his Colonnell being followed by manye others, *Strossi* was in the ende constrained to tume his backe. And albeit that the Gascons and Zuizers stood well vnto it, yet their rashnesse in going out of their forte to set vpon the Spaniards, and Florentines, was no lesse damageable, then the cowardlinesse of those which ranne awaie: for the Cauallerie turning head against them, they were all cut in peeces. The Colonells of the Zuizers and Almanes, *Clermont*, *Monbazon*, the Captaines *Blaise*, *Jean de Ville*, *Francois de Record*, *Agapite Todj*, and other to the number of three thousand, and more then fiue hundred prisoners remained there, the second daye of August, 1554. The reporte whereof was brought vnto the Kinge before Renti, to abate the ioye of his so fauourable a reencounter against the Emperour beeing himselfe in perion, thorough the sorrowfull newes of so pittiefulla defeat. Manye which were hurt, and sundrye other, retyred themselves to Siene, there to attend such euent as the Imperiales shoulde bring thether, *Strossi* and *Aurele Fregose* abandoning *Foyan* gayned *Montalcin*, whether *Bighet* beeing come and the Earle of Elfe, who had cowardly yielded vp Lufignen a strong place, and furnished withall necessities, they both had theyr heads stroken off. The Marquisse in the meane time hauing taken almost all the litle places about Siene, encamped beefore the cheefe Cittie, resolved, as hee assured the Emperour by his letters, not to depart thence, before it shoulde beeyielded, during which siege, the Turkes came into Corse, to the succour of the French: especiallye at the siege of Caluy, and Boniface. Afterwards they returned pilling all the coast of Italie, to besiege Piombin, and the Ile of Elbe, which appertained to the Duke of Florence. Pasing on further they dyd infinite mischeefes in the kingdome of Naples, Sicilie, and Calabria, from whence they returned riche into Constantinople, without anye mannes seeking to hinder them, so great was the recipocall hatredt betweene these Christian Princes, that they choose rather to ruine themselves, then agreeing them altogether, to make warre to the profite and honour of all Christendome.

Now albeit that the endeouours of the Marquisse, and the sollicitations of the Florentine

Florentine by letters, together with scarcitie of victuals, were very great occasions to moue the Towne to yeelde, yet *Monluc* resolved vpon the pointe of honour, and the Sienois for the defence of theyr libertie, ceased not for all that to make verie faire salies vpon the Imperiall campe: An occasion that they battered it the more furiously, with the Artillerie which the Duke drew from the store of Florence. But the courage and resolution of the inhabitants provided no lesse, for the breaches and ruines, which were most dangerous, then the paylants of the Countie about for the necessitie of victuals, bringing into the Towne by all means which possibly they coule inuent, to retrefhe their Masters withall, albeit that the rigor of the Marquesse, caused manye to bee hanged in theyr view. Here vpon *Strossi* hoping somewhat of the death of Pope *Iuly*, an enemye to the French, and of the carriage of *Marcel* elected Pope, borne at Montalcin in Sienois, as I haue tolde you, besought him to succour his Cittizens, and maintayne theyr auncient libertie. But as new come to the estate, and more giuen to Religion then to warre, no other answer coule bee gotten of him, but Prayers to God to haue pittie on theyr fortune. Therefore seeing that *Monluc* whom hee had caused to goe see if he coule leaue an armie at Montalcin, had done nothing for want of the money which the King had not sent vnto him, in the ende they addressed themselves to the Duke of Florence. By those means the Articles of the Sienois beeing reiectd, the yeelding of the towne was in the end accorded vpon these termes,

Siene yeelded by Composition.

That the Emperour shoulde take Siene under the protection of the holys Empire, and maintaine her in her liberties, and auncient franchises. That hee should pardon all such as had borne armes, except such as were banished, or thrust out of Naples, or any other the territories of the Emperour, Kinge Phillip, or the Duke of Florence. That hee shoulde preserve the Sienois, in their rightes, franchises, honours, goods and dignities, as well mooueable, as vnmoueable, except what the souldier had already pilld. That it might bee lawfull for all such as would not remaine vnder his obedience, to departe without ranfome. That he shoulde put in what Garrison it pleased him, without making or building there anye Citadell, except it were with the consent of the Cittizens, but rather shoulde ruine such as were, the warre beeing once ended. That hee shoulde establishe there such policie as hee woulde, alwaies the libertie and dignitie of the common wealt being preserved, and that the auncient Maistrates might participate in anye matter of estate, and manning of newes. That it shoulde bee lawfull for all Captaines, Cheefes, Magistrates, Gouvernours, and souldiers of what nation soeuer they were, beeing at Siene for the King of Fraunce to departe, their weapons and goods saved, with their drummes stricken vp, and Ensignes displayed, together with their baggage, baggage, traine, and Artillerie, to whome safe conduct shoulde bee giuen, and free passage, thoroughout, untill they shoulde bee arined in their Princes territories. And if within eight dayes they dyd not except these conditions, that they shoulde no more looke to be receiued into fauour.

But the ende carried matter which seemed much more grievous vnto them: to witte that Siene must needs fall into the handes of the Duke of Florence. An occasion that the Souldiours beeyng already departed in such order as is here abouesaid, were followed by the most part of the Cittizens,

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A Captaine punished for cowardly yielding vp a place furnished.

Turkes come to the aide of the French sicke all the coast of Italy

Siene besieged by the Imperials.

Pope Marcel more deuout then warre.

Montalcin the re-
trete of the Sie-
nior.

Seven taken.

Port of Hercule a
road for the French
Gallies surprised
by the Marquisse.

Ferdinand Gonsa-
gne disappointed
by the Emperour
The Duke of Alua
Lieutenant gene-
rall in Italy for the
Emperour.
The Marquisse of
Mangnan malcon-
tent with the Duke
of Alua, retireth
to his owne home

Affaires of Pie-
mont.

choosing rather to loose their goods then to be subiect to the Florentines whome they had in almost an irreconcilable hatred: in the end a great number of the best Citizens retired to Montalcin, there erecting the bodye and Senate of the Sienois Seigneurie, which they named the ancient Bailiwick: by which they gouerned theyr estate and maintayned themselves in the same pollicie, which they had in the capitall Cittie. Afterwards they disperfed their Garrison to Chinski Rolet, and other Townes of the Sienois helde by the French and their practisans. In the meane time, the Marquesse hauing sent the Earle Marie de Saint Flour, to besiege Sartean, seated vpon the Clan, which hee enforced in the ende to yeelde to composition, went to besiege with the rest, the porte Hercule, whether the French Gallies retired themselves at the foote of the hill Argento, nor farre from Orbitelle, vpon the coast of the *Thirane Seas* which *De Termes* had to that ende fortified by the Kings commande-ment. And albeit that it was resolutely defended, yet they within besieged, seeing themselves void of any hope of succours, and all their water fayling, yeelded them- selves, albeit that *Strossi* employed all the meanes he was able, to leaue men at Rome and else where, to succour the besieged, who retired to other places, whilst that the Marquisse ouerrunning the open Countrie, replenished all, with the feare of his armes. Shortly after notwithstanding, as *Ferdinand Gonsagne* Lieutenant generall for the Emperour in Lombardie, disappointed of his gouernment, retired himselfe mal-content to Bruscelles, to render an accounte of his charge to the Emperour, this Marquisse likewise malcontented thorough the Duke of Alua sent as Lieutenant for the Emperour into Italy, & making *Dom Garzie de Toledo* his Lieutenant, discharging all matters without any whit of his priuie, quitted the armie, and retired himselfe to his owne home.

To ioyne the state of Piemont and Lombardie to the successe of Tuscane, I haue giuen you to vnderstand with what happe the desseins of the Marshall *Brissac* stode accompanied: especiallie vpon the surprize of Cazal, one of the most importante places of the Countrie. So fortunate successe, as that it was accompanied with the dispite of the losse of Cazal and places rounde about. An occasion to moue the Emperour (the treatie of peace beeing broken of which I tolde you) to sende the Duke of Alua into Piemont and Italy, as his Lieutenant generall, there to reassemble his forces, and hauing ioyned vnto them the troupes of the Duke of Florence and of the Marquisse of Marignan, (who disappointed of his charge was retired as I shewed vnto you) to take afreshe new aduantages vpon the French, and driue them cleane out if it were possible. The Marshall notwithstanding beeing aduertised hereof, and of no hope: left of anie peace, the purpale whereof each one trained in- to length to hasten the premises of the waire, made a viewe ouer all his places, and prouided thereunto as was necessarie, afterwarde hee munitioned the fortres which he had reared about Vulpian, as well to famish it, and depriue it of all succour, as for feare of sallies on his backe, whilst he himselfe made head vnto the D. of Alua, who put himselfe into the fildes about the end of Iuly, with twentie thousand men, as well Spanniardes as Almanes and Italians, six thousand horse of Ordinance, and light Cavallerie, and thirtie peeces of great and small artillerie. Whereupon the Marquisse nor being able to answere him in great, retired all his forces, which from the month of Iune had bene in the fildes, in number of ten thousand Suizers, French and Almanes, with two thousand horse of all sorts, fower Cannons, and two Culber- rines, about Vulpian: & fortified himselfe neere vnto Cazal, which he feared would bee

bee assaulted and attending such succours as he had written vnto the King would be necessarie for him, he prepared himselfe to all euent. The Duke notwithstanding making shew as though he had ment for Cazal, tooke *Farinet du Pau*, a final Castle three miles from thence: where thinking to bring all vnder his subiection in a few monethes, thorough the astonishment of a crueltie neuer before practised, among such as vntill then had made faire warre one vpon another, he caused the Captaine to be hanged, the French to be put into the Gallies, and the Italians to be cut in pec- ces. Afterwards the Capitaine *La Trinite*, commaunding at Valle Feniere, went out by his commandement with three hundred horse, and fower hundred footmen to discouer, but being charged by certaine French Cavallerie, hee was constrained to leaue behinde him a good part of his companie to the butcherie, to retire himselfe into *Ast*, and *Alexandria*. An occasion that the D. hauing attempted all the places, where he might make the first prooue of his fresh armie, resolued whilst his forces remained yet entire, and that he had time and leasure, no succours being yet come out of Fraunce, to victuall *Vulpian* with his prouisions already which hee within two daies thrust into the place, about the end of Iuly. Afterwarde he besieged Saint Iaco, whereof hee supposed the fortification to be vnperfect, and the rather for that it was new would hardly endure the Cannon. But finding it in other case then hee thought for, vnder *Bonsuet* Colonel of the French fanterie, and *Ludouic de Birague*, accompanied with two thousand French, and two Ensignes of the regiment of compt *Roquendolse Almene*, two of Italians, and one hundred light horse of Albanoie, vnder *Theodore Beddaine*, albeit that by the space of three weekes together hee had beaten the ground a great parte of their fortifications, without any assault, he well knew in the ende by the sallies and resolute reencounters of the besieged, that it was no easie matter, to enforce them: Iointe the coming of the Dukes D'Aumalle, D'Anguyen, De Conde, De Neuers, De Nemours, *Vidasme de Charvres*, *Goner*, and other followed with ten thousand men, which the King had sent to reskew the place, ani- mate his partakers, and coole the enemies of his Maiestie. The gnerall whereof, abating his courage in the verie eye of the French, who vnited altogether put them selues into the fildes to giue him battell, quitted Saint Iaco, leauing the great master of the artillerie, and well fiftene hundred men dead there at the siege, to drawe to Versel, taking notwithstanding certaine Castles, which hee ruined, except Gabiano, and Bourg Saint Martine, fower miles from Cazal. This departure beeing knowne by the Duke D'Aumalle, reiecting their aduise which councelled him to follow the enemie, fering the inconueniences which had at other times fallen out to such as too violently pursued their fortune, ioynte that the whole action was left to his discreti- on, he resolued to besiege Vulpian, to deliuer the countrie of the feare of this noy- soine garrison. So vpon the ende of August, two and twentie thousand, as well French, as Almanes, Suizers, and Italians, eight hundred men at armes, and twelue hundred light horse, were encamped about it, closing it so straightly in, as *Emmanuel de La Lorie*, sent thither by the Duke of Alua, to make fivie hundred harquebu- siers on horse backe, Spaniards and Italians, to enter in, had no sooner passed the Pau, but hee was surprized and defeated by *La Roche-Pozay* of Poitou, who tarried close for him, suffering very fewe of them to enter into the succour of the besieged. But the place beeing battered without ceasing very furiously, for the space of fow- et and twentye dayes, towardes the Mille, with fower greate Cannons, vnder the assuraunce of the Suizers, and with fivie other betweene the Towne and

The first exploits
of the D. of Alua
rigorous to affor-
nith them of the
countrie.

Vulpian victu-
aled by the D. of
Alua.

Saint Iaco besie-
ged, battered, &
left by the Impe-
rials.

The D. of Alua
retireth.

Vulpian besieged
battered and af-
flicted yeeldeth
to composition

the Castle by the French campe, and then on the side of the great bulwarke towards the Castle with fower other, it was in such sorte shaken, as the mines trayned vnder the great bulwarke, which flanked the towne and the Castle, being ready, and opening at the very instant of the assault, caused the innermost part of the bulwarke to flie vp, where there was so large an ouerture made, as the Spaniards and the French, hauing long time in thong bickered together, shaddowed with such a darkness but in the end cleared, as perceiuing the besieged to be at the mercie of the assailants, they quitted all the bulwarke except such as yeelded themselves. But the rest not able to enter into the Castle, fearing least to saue some the place and rest of the garrison might be lost, were for the most part cut in peeces. Among which was a Nephew of the Duke of Aluacs. But *Sigefmond Gonzague*, and the Capitaine *Lazare* Lieutenant of the garde to the Duke of Alua, and sundrie other remained prisoners. The other breach was better defended, for that hauing passed the vp diche in water to the gerdle, they were faine to clyme and grapple vp with ladders, and armors to heaue to carrie. Albeit that the Prince of Anguyen, and of Conde, were there present for example to the rest of the youth. So as many French men remained there dead, and the Earle of Creance so sore hurt, as hee could not escape. But as soone as the generall had caused fower Cannons to bee placed vpon the rest of the bulwarke to batter the hinderpart of the breach, and play alongt the strettes of the towne, the required parlie was accorded and afterwarde concluded, that they should depart in men of warre, Ensignes displayed, drummes stroken vp, goods saued, and safely conducted as far as the riuer of Drie neere vnto Train, al the munition remaining in the place: fower & twenty howers after the Capitaine of the Castle yeelded vpon the same conditions, sauing that it was reserued vnto him for his more honour and iustification to his generall, that they shoulde shoote fiftie Cannon shot against the Castle. At this accord, and yeelding of the place, the Marshall was present, about the ende of September, who for many occasions refused to bee at the beginning of the siege. Afterwarde the place being as soone dismembred, and vnsupplied of all her fortifications, of a faire towne of warre there was made a countrie borough. This done, the armie coasting all alongt the strong places which the Imperials held vpon the waie of Pont d'esture (which they thought best to take before the duke should haue finished his fortifications, being determined therby to make head to those of Casal, and stop the way to the French from Casal to Turin) skirmished with such as failed forth of Trin and Crescentin. Afterwarde the encamped at Velleneufue neere Casal, where knowing that the garrison of Pont d'esture was lodged euen to the skirts of it, to wearie the French, and in the meane time prouide for the rest of the places, Autonne being already farre entred, and the discommoditie of winter, they turned to Montcaluo, which lying close by Pont d'esture, suspected nought. The which being taken, brided Pont d'esture, and the rest of the places vpon the Pan, as farre as the plaine of the Marquissat of Montferrat: spreading ouer besides all the bounds of Casal. Therefore the Caualerie entertaining a hot reprisall of skirmish vpon such as failed out of Pont d'esture, to couer the dismarch of the fanterie and artillerie, which they carried for the batterie of Montcaluo, as soone surprised as scaled thorough so sodaine arriuall, it caused the Imperials to thinke, that they had great intelligences therein. And immediately the approaches beeing made with the furie of the Cannon aboute twentie dayes together vpon the great portall of the Castle which defended one of the flankers, to breake the defences and disaunce it, it was

no

no sooner endamaged, the mine hauing opened the bulwarke which made the other flanker, but they tooke it to composition, goods saued, the Ensigne displayed, with one peece of artillery, three bullets, and three shot of powder, but all the artillery which was found there dismounted, remained. The 17. of October the principallest of them being retired to Pont d'esture, were hanged for yeelding vpon so slightly without any assault, the army still remaining about vntill the place was fully repaired. Afterwarde the winter approaching, the two armies were dispersed into garrisons, who did no great matter worthy to be marked afterwards, except it were a running at the tilre with sharp lances, between foure French men, to wit, the D. of Nemours, *De Clafse* eldest sonne of *Vasse*, the Capitaine *Manes Rochepozay* his Lieutenant, and the Capitaine *Moucha* Ensigne to *Pinars* against the Marquess of Pescaire, the Marquess of Malespine, *Dom Albe* a Spanish Capitaine, and the Earle *Charaffe* Neapolitain, Nephew to the Pope: *De Clafse* and the Capitaine *Manes* were sore hurt in the necke, that they died within fewe daies after: the Earle *Charaffe* was peared cleane through, and died in the place, the rest returned without any mischaunce. Moreouer, as the Marshall *Brisac* seeing the Winter to come on, caused his Souldiers to retyre into the Townes, hauing prouided for the victualling and Garrison of Montcaluo, vpon the retreat of their companies to their lodgings: it happened about the twentieth of Nouember, that *Clermontes* company retyring towards Casal, where he was appointed to Garrison, was surprised by the Marquess of Pescaire, followed with three hundred Harquebusiers, and eight hundred light horse, which straight put them to flight, all their baggage remaining behinde, with fife and twenty or thirty prisoners, the rest saued themselves within Casal. In reuenge whereof, the eight day of December the Capitaine *Salmoisin* being aduertised, howe not farre from him there were two companies of Italian light horse, departed speedily with a good troupe, marching all the night, and in the morning entred into the village, euen as the Italians were at breakfast, whome he discomfited and utterly defeated, by the death of two of their cheefe Lieutenants, and well three score other, the rest remaining prisoners in the French mens handes, who carryed with them more then three score horse, and a great quantitie of armour. Thus they disturbed one anothers rest in Piemont, where we will leaue them, to handle againe the renewed troubles of the French and Imperials in Piedrdie.

The Imperial army remaining onely but for the fauour and defence of the forces of *Givets*, and *Philippe Vile* against those of *Mariembourg*, *Rocroy*, and *Maubertontaine*, passed away the time of warre without other fruit, anouncing the worke, notwithstanding the most that the Ligeois and Nauarrois was able better acquainted with the nouriture and tedious abode of the troupes then all the other, the rest of the Imperials remaining to weary the Garrisons, and to put the King to charge in entreating of them, and consume the victuall of the Countrey, making account that Winter being come, it would be very hard for him to recouer, and more hard to put in any more, hoping thereby to close them in and famishe them, or at the least they promised themselves what aduantage they would desire, ouer those that would victual them anew: an occasion that the D. of Neuers resolved, while time serued to make a generall victualling, especially at *Mariembourg*: but the time being consumed in *Sansac* his taking of *Emery Castle*, who was gouernour of *Metz* in the absence of the Marshall *Freilleuilla*, (which had bene surprised by the Capitaine *Beauieu* of the Imperial Garrison at *Theouuille*.) Joynt that the Admiral was not able to bring his men vntill the end of October, and likewise the great difficultie to get waggons and

Q.4

carriages

Montcaluo taken.

Certain captives hanged for so slightly yeelding.

Combat at the siege betweene 4 French, and as many Spaniards and Italians.

Surprizes of certain companies in Piemont.

Defenses of the Imperial army.

carriages, which the labourers of Champagne and Reteler wearied with their paines already passed, refused whilst that their tillage was to doe, was an occasion that they marched not vntill the 30. of October, that the Admirall went to lodge at Rocroye, with the Vantgarde of fivie hundred men at armes, and some companies of French, having *Sansac* and *Bourdillon* for avant-couriers with the light cavallerie, three hundred Harquebusiers on foote, and one Regiment of men at armes to supporte them, marching all the night, to viewe the woods and give their aduice, notwithstanding the great raines and extreame cold, which so benumbed the men, and especially the draught horses, that it was impossible, for many waggons turned topsie turvie, and broken, to reach but from Maubert fontaine to Rocroy, things not having bin made ready in their time and season. Afterwardes there arriued the Duke of Neuers with twenty Ensignes of Almans, conducted by the *Reingraue*: and for that reporte was brought, how the Prince of Orange taried them in places very auantageous to stop their passage with his Fantery, assisted with his horse men and Reisters, they caused not the whole company to aduance forward, for feare of being enclosed in, albeit that *Sansac* did since assure, how the enemy had no such matter in hand: an occasion that there entred but twenty waggons with Wine and Meale. So the last day of October the army was deuided into quarters, in the sight of the Garrison, but so pittifully handled with colde, haile, and frostes, that many of the Sentinels were frozen to death, one league and a halfe from the Imperials, being encamped on the side of a Mountaine, betwene Sautour and Philippeville. But the first of Nouember they sent out certaine companies to seize the passage, and streasse the victualers, in whole fauour they sent thither a number of companies to reskew them, and conduct them to the Camp: and there were scene two notable chances, the one, how a Spanishe doublet for twelue pennie peece saued a Souldiers life, who had a Harquebuz shot but sixe paces of, without any harme, being notwithstanding prisoner, he was sent back againe with mony in his purse, by the Duke of Neuers, to carrie newes to the campe, how he alone was escaped of all the company: the other, a French Souldier seeing his brother to be taken by the Imperials, laid about him so lustely against thirtie which helde him, that he brought him away sound and safe. In such and like reencounters and skirmishes there passed 8. daies in great necessitie of victuals, and maruelous discommodities of the ayre, before Mariembourg: vntill that almost all the waggons and carriages were entred in. Then they retired themselves to the garisons neere at hand, as also the Prince of Orange to Bruxels to the Emperor, hauing sufficiently provided for Philippeville and Charlemonr.

To enter againe into the estate of Almane, *Ferdinande K.* of Bohemia, assigned in that time in the name of the Emperour, a diet at Ausbourg of the estates of Almane, to accorde about the point of Religion, and provide as well for the necessities of the Empire, as the particular of each one the yeare 1551. The Protestant Princes sent thither their Embassadors, shewing that they held with the confession of Ausbourg, according to which if they would giue them suretie, they would contribute to all reasonable charges. Hereupon *August* Duke of Saxe, and elector by the decease of his Brother the *D. Maurice* (whom the Pistoll shot which hee receaued the daye of the battaile against the Marquesse *Albert*, caused to dye, as else where I haue tolde you) and *Touachim* Marquesse of Brandebourg electors, the Sonnes of *Iean Frederic*, the *Lantgrau*, and some other Princes neighbours about, assembled at Numbourg, vpon the Riuer Solo, and there renewed the alliance which is hereditaire betwene the houses of Saxe and Hesse. And vpon that they concluded, constantly to stick to the

the confession of Ausbourg. But fearing least some suspicion might growe of any new and secret enterprife, the fifth day of their assemblie, they wrote the cause thereof vnto the Emperour, insisting vpon the article of the treatie of Passau, where the peace was concluded as I haue shewed vnto you: and protesting that in all things they sought the repose of Almane, they proposed the confession of Ausbourg, exhorting euery one to a generall quiet, and beseeching that hee would not beleue any which perhaps sought to trouble the tranquility of the Empire. The *K. Ferdinande* had proposed vpon the fifth day of February, such matters as were to be entreated of; but for that many came so slackely thither, they began not vntill the 7. of March. Then the Deputies of the Princes Electors consulted of the byls, and against the aduise of many, they all consented in the end, to begin with the point of religion. The like was concluded in the counsell of the Princes and townes. After a long debate it was agreede that they should leaue religion in peace; but they differed, in that the associates of the confession of Ausbourg, would haue it to be indifferently permitted to all kinde of men to follow their doctrine, and that they might likewise be partakers of the benefit of the peace. The other side stronglye withstoode that, alleading that that ought not to be permitted to any Townes, which since seauen yeares had receaued the decree made at Ausbourg touching religion, nor to any ecclesiasticall person. And in case that a Bishop or Abbot should change his religion, they would haue him deprived of his place, and another put into his roome. They of the confession of Ausbourg alleadged, that the diuine promises as wel of the olde as new Testament, in which our saluation is contained, appertained to all men in generall, by meanes whereof it was not lawfull for them to curtail or straighten them, for feare of shutting both themselves and others out of the kingdome of heauen. There was neither Iewe nor Turk, were he neuer so little affectionate to his religion, but would wish to drawe the whole worlde vnto it: how much more ought we to be thus encouraged, seeing we haue an expresse commandement from God for the same: it must needs be then that all remaine in their libertie. Notwithstanding, to gain peace, they permitted vnto them that they should keepe their fashions and ceremonies, vie and enioy all their goods, possessions, customes, rightes and priuiledges, vntill the different of religion should be determined. But they would not allow the same condition to be prescribed vnto Bishops, for thereby it might growe that they should be bound to make warre against their allies of the same religion, and with great dishonour condemne their own cause, for it were as much as to confesse, said they, that our doctrine and religion were not worthy of ecclesiasticall goods, and that vntill this day such goods had bene vniustly bestowed vpon our Churches & Ministers. Moreover, we should confesse the Papists doctrine to be holy, and their ministery grounded vpon the word of God, and that their goods were iustly deuoted to their order, life, statutes, and ceremonies: and what a scandall would it growe, if we should defend their cause and goods, which serue to no end in the Church, and contrariwise we should betray them whome we ought to holde in singular recommendation, by reason of the same religion. The Catholiques alleadged other reasons, that if it should be lawfull for ecclesiasticall persons to change religion, within a while Bishops, and like chapitres would be prophaned, and being cut of from the Churches, would fall into the Princes hands, and so remaine vnto them as an heritage: to which they answered that there was neuer any such matter meant, but that their entent was to reduce things to their first institution, and appropriate them to their true vsages, annexing the goods for euer vnto the Churches; and to take away all doubt, they promised

A notable accident.

The part of a Brother.

led to give caution that no goods of Bishops or chaptres should be aliened, in case their religion should be changed: provided that after the decree or resignation of the Bishop or superior, the election and administration should be left free to them of the College. Now after many differences of the one parte, and other as well by wrangling as by speech there was in the end agreed and enacted, the five & twentieth of September, and read in publicke audience, according to the custome, such decrees followeth: the which being well obserued, hath maintayned the Empire and the Almaines in good peace, vntill this present.

The decree of Ausbourg.

That the Emperour, the K. Ferdinande, and the rest of the Princes and estates, should doe no wrong to any of the Empire, in case whatsoever: in respect of the doctrine of the confession of Ausbourg, concerning the point of Religion and faith received: nor hereafter compel by their commandements or other meanes, those which were confederate in the saide confession, to abandon their religion, ceremonies and lawes, instituted by them within their territories, or to be instituted hereafter: especially that they haue not their religion in contempt, but leaue them free with their goods, inheritances, customes, possessions, and all other rights: so as they may peaceably holde them. That the different of religion be no otherwise determined, but by holie, amiable, and peaceable meanes. They of the confession of Ausbourg, shall in like sort behaue themselves towards the Emperour, the K. Ferdinande, and the rest of the Princes and estates, addicted to the ancient religion, whether Ecclesiasticall or Temporall: and towards all other of the Church; and towards their colleagues into what part soeuer they shall retire to inhabite: provided that they acquitte themselves of their ministerie as hereafter shall be declared. That these they shall permitte in libertie, their religion and ceremonies, their lawes, possessions, tributes and other rights, and no man shall hinder their enjoying of the same. That if any suites or processes shall fall out, they shall be determined both of the one side and the other, according to the customes and lawes of the Empire. They which are neither of the one nor the other religion, are not to be comprehended within this peace. If any Archb. Bishop, Prelate, or other ecclesiasticall person doe renounce the auncient religion, that he quit his Bishopricke, Prelature, Benefice and together therewith all the fruites, which he hath receaued: which notwithstanding shall not annoy waies turne to his dishonour or infamie. But the chapitre or they to whome it appertaineth by custome or right shall haue power to substitute another in his roome, so as hee be of the auncient Religion. To the ende that the rightes of institutions, election, presentation, may remaine with the entire possession of their goods, vpon condition notwithstanding that in any respect thereof anie future accorde of religion wherof it hath bene spoken, be not anie waies impaired. And for so much as certaine estates of the Empire, and their anctours haue usurped certainemongships, monasteries, and like goods, appertaining to the Church, which they haue appropriated to their ecclesiasticall ministeries, Schooles, and other holie uses: that by no meanes they be disquieted for that, nor called into any court of iustice, but that all such goods shall remaine in their order: to wit, all such as did not appertaine to the estates of the Empire, or to any other subiect to the Empire, wherof the Clergie were not in possession at the time of the transaction of Passau, nor after. And that it be not permitted to the Iudges of the Chamber, to proceede by law, or comence any suites against them, or decide any thing, by reason of any such goods so usurped or aliened. That the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction be not exercised nor take place against the Leaguers in the confession of Ausbourg, against their religion, faith, ceremonies, lawes by ecclesiasticall ministeries, but that she haue therein her bounds bound, not doing vnto them any disturbance, vntill that the different should be appeased. In other matters not appertaining to their religion,

Religion, ceremonies, lawes, and ministeries, that they carrie themselves according to the auncient right, and custome of the Countie. Further that all Ecclesiasticall persons enjoye their goods entirely, their reuenues and other rights: provided notwithstanding that they in whose seigneurie such goods are, loose nothing of such politike right as they had before the discord of Religion. Moreover that out of such goods they ordaine and maintaine, as heretofore it hath already bene established, the necessarie ministeries, Parishes, Schooles, Almes houses and Hospitals for the poore afflicted, without any regard of what Religion they be, for whose succour, and nourishment they be ordained. If for this nourishment, and quantitie thereof, there should arise any strife or debate, then arbitrators shall be chosen by the consent of the parties, who after enquire made thereof, shall determine within six monethes, how much should be sequestred to the use of such ministeries. During the hanging of which processe, they to whom it doth appertaine to giue aide, and contribute to such vsances, shall not be disturbed in their possession, but onely shall contribute as they were wont in olde time, vntill the successe shall be determined.

Now if the Almaines were willing by these meanes to maintaine themselves in peace, the French Chatholiques seemed to be more and more animated towards the research and curious peruite of such as they teamed reformed.

The K. of Fraunce, stirred vp by his fauorites, had made an Edict, by which it was commaunded to all Iudges, to punish without delay according to the exigence of the case, such as should be condemned by the Ecclesiasticall Iudges and inquisitors of the faith, without any waies deferring vpon any appeales. Afterwards it was sent to the Parliament of Paris, to the ende it should be there read, and published, and after publication enregistred in the Grefferie, and proclaimed according to the custome. They of the Courte finding it strange, that the succour, and last refuge to the miserable, should be denied to the condemned, demaunded a time of aduice, and afterwards on the six & twentieth day of October, 1555. they sent deputies of their body vnto the King, to informe him of their opinion, and take in good part the remonstrances which followe, the which they sent vnto him at such time as the Cardinals of Lorraine and of Turnon were gone to Rome.

By your owne Edict (Sire) sover years since, you haue referred to your selfe and your Iudges the entire connoissance and punishment of the Lutherane heresie, without any exception, saving that heresie required some declaration, ere that sentence should be giuen vpon those that had received holy ord. rs. In present the Edict wherof the question groweth, ordaineth meere the contrarie: for it subiecteth the people to the iudgment of the Ecclesiasticall persons, and of the inquisitors. In which they diminish your dignitie wherein you surpass all other Princes: & giue iust occasion to the people to grieue, to see themselves abandoned from you, and made subiect to the power of another. But yet the displeasure much more aboundeth, when without the succour of appeale, all their goods, their life and their honour, shall be in the power of the saide Ecclesiasticall persons. For without doubt appeale is the refuge and safeguard of innocencie: you are the tutor and protector, as well of the appeale, as of the innocents and so is there none but you which hath power ouer the people. Now if authoritie be giuen to the inquisitors and officers of Bishops, to iudge without appeale, it shall be as much as to open a window, and beate a path, for to condemn the innocent, and make them to loose both body and goods. Iointe, that the iudges of Churches seeing themselves in such authoritie and Royall credit, will forget their dutie, & not keepe within their bounds, seeing all estates subiect vnto them, and managing them at their owne post, will not only leaue to regarde the vulgar sort, but will carrie no respect at all to Princes. It lyeth for all that in you, if it please you thus to meditate these matters: To wit that your Iudges take connoissance of the causes, and therein giue sentence, and if there be found any doubtfull

Appeale of the
last refuge of the
condemned, and
safegarde of
innocencie.

doubtfull Article or opinion, that then Ecclesiasticall persons may give resolution. Likewise that such as haue received orders be iudged by their Iudges. As touching appeales, that commision may be obtained at the Popes hands, whereby it may bee permitted vnto the Subiectes, and in case it shall fall out, that sentence must be given of such as shall be appellants that therein they take some of your Ecclesiasticall Councillors, such as shall be chosen, or for default of them some other notable and sufficient personages. In regard of the inquisition that it be obserued, to haue the Popes inquisitor deputed vnder him thoroughout all prouinces, to be men of good renowne and of entire life. And that the Bishop be at the charge, and not the accused, vpon condition notwithstanding that the processe being ended, the charges be recovered of those to whom it appertaineth. These things are proper to bound in and enclose such processe within certaine limits. Moreover for that it appeareth that by the punishments of Heretiques, how necessarie soeuer they be, they haue not amended them untill this present, but onely it hath bene shewed thereby how detestable the thing is, and further for that it is surer better to preuent a sicknesse, then to giue it leasure to grow, and afterwarde apply a remedie, you must herein (most gracious Prince) follow the customes and pathes of the primitiue and auncient Church: for shee was not established either by sword or fire, but the diligence of Bishoppes hath alwaies resisted against Heretiques, because that they alwaies insisted to preach the word of God, & shew good example in their life. Considering then how the Church was by this meanes confirmed, there is no doubt but shee would still be able to maintaine and counteruarde her selfe, if you would therein use your power, causing Bishops and Pastors in their owne persons to gouerne their Churches, and likewise all inferiour ministers. That they liue holily, and teach the word of God or cause it to be taught by persons fit. And that hereafter the charge of Churches be not giuen but to men able of themselves to teach, without substituting Vicars in their roomes. This is the roote, whereunto the hand must be put, this is the foundation vpon which the building must be framed: for by this meanes there is hope that heresies will by little and little vanish away. But if no account be made of following this course, there is danger that heresies will encrease more and more, what Edict soeuer can be made or remedies used to the contrarie.

In summe, few of the Lordes of the priuie Councell remaining there, which would any waies contrarie the same, the Edict which I will speake of else where, was engrossed, in the end concluded, and after published thoroughout the whole Realm, to the contentment of some, and displeasure of many other.

In this same time Charles of Austria, Emperour of the Romanes, tyred with the enterprise of humane actions, no lesse then pressed with his particular inconueniences, resolved to put end thereunto. So that as well to appease the violence of his Goures, feebleness of stomacke, megromes, head ach, and an infinite of other diseases which day by day diminished his naturall strength, as to see the inconstancie of mundane accidents and small assurance in the fairest desseins of man, good fortune the companion of manie his actions hauing bene often times enterlaced by the encounter of some Signal defastre. Iointe the presages of *Vesalins* his Phisition, and other vpon the breuitie of his daies, he determined to exchange a publike life, vntill then reasonable well gouerned, with a particular and solitarie, which rather carryed a Religious deuotion, then any mundane managing. Therefore hauing from the moneth of September caused his sonne *Phillip* King of England, to come vnto him, to whome for fixe weekes together, he communicated his most important affaires, and the meanes which he ought to holde in the gouernment of his estates, hee caused the generall estates of all his low Countries to bee assembled at Bruxelles, where hee declared the indisposition of his person, the good they had receiued from himselfe, and the fauour which they might receiue from his sonne whome as then

then rising out of his chayre, and kneeling barehead before and oueragainst the Emperour, putting his hand vpon his head, he inuested in all his patrimoniall goodes, & hauing recommended vnto him Religion & Iustice, he gaue him his blessing. Then the Princeryscn vp, and due reuerence made vnto his Father, and Queene *Mary* his Aunt, in the ende turning vnto the people, thanked God for his present aduantages, besought him to assist him in all his actions to come, rendred thanks vnto the Emperour for the care he had of his person from his first age vntill that day, & vnto the people for the acceptance they had made of him, assuring them of so good a gouernement, as they should not haue cause to repent themselves of this happe and consent. Afterwarde Queene *Marye* dowager of Hungarie, Gouvernesse of the Lowe countries seeing the teares trickle downe the graye bearde of the Emperour, his pale and earthly face, rose vp to declare vnto the people, that for thirteene yeeres together, while her charge endured which shee had receyued from the Ceasars, and she had employed all the meanes which God had lente vnto her, to acquitte her selfe of her duetie, that if any faulte happened, it was vnwitting, and not of any her malice, for which shee besought all them to pardon her, assuring her selfe that her brother the Emperour rested contente. This done, the Emperour publicly acquitted all his Subiectes, of their oathes made vnto him, and rising out of his Throane, caused his Sonne to sitte therein, who presently receyued the homages and oathes of all his Vassalles. Afterwarde all the first Seales of *Charles* were broken in pieces, and in their place King *Philip* were brought, wherewith there were presently sealed certayne pardons and other dispatches. Thus did hee discharge himselfe of all his goodes and estates, to leade a peaceable life in a house of pleasure, which hee had builded in Castilia, called *Iust*, reseruing onely to himselfe the vsufruite of Castilia, and the superintendence of all the commandaries. Afterwarde, by his gracious Letters to the Electours and Princes of Germanie, he besought them to reconcile themselves together, vnfoluding vnto them the small occasion which they had to quarell one with another, aduertising them of his purpose to passe into Spayne, and howe hee had resigned the Empire into their hands, counselling and beseeching them to chuse his brother the King of the Romanes, whome they knewe to bee of defaute and age. Hearing least if some yong Emperour shoulde bee chosen, hee woulde encrease the warres among the Christians, (a fitte onuerturne to the Turkes to empyre Christendome) especially vpon his nearest neyghbours.

In the ende, hee recommended vnto them his Sonne, beseeching them, that if euer hee had done any matter of woorth for them and their Countrey, they woulde acknowledge it in the behalfe of his Sonne, who beeyng charged with great affaires, had neede of his friendes assistance. At the last, that they woulde not bee contrary vnto him, though some particularities might ryme them from ayding of him. Hee sent likewise *Stuler* a doctour to his brother *Ferdinando*, to yeelde ouer vnto him, on his parte all the charges of the Empire, beseeching him to reconcile the Priests one to another, in which the staye and encrease of the Empire wholly consisted, the true and nearest cause of the ruine thereof proceeding from diuision. Then that hee woulde yeelde all ayde to his Sonne *Philip*, as a neyghbourn to such an enemy as the King of Fraunce was. In the ende, beeyng determined to departe, hee was stayed thorough the violence of his diseases, contrarywise of whates a long tyme in the preparation of his Shippes, and thorough a difference fallen out in some of the

Mary Q. of Hungarie Governesse of the Lowe Countries.

Grace & sweetnesse the first actions of Princes.

Charles 5. Emperour yeeldeth vp all his estates and returneth into Spaine to liue privately.

townes, which would by no means receyue his sonne, the father living, and other which would haue his nephew *Ferdinande* seconde sonne to the King of Romanes for their gouernour. Joint the malecontentment of a number of Lordes, and other, who hauing employed all their meanes, and often times their life in his seruice, vnder a hope of great recompence, sawe themselves by this his dimission, and departure into Spaine, frustrated of all their hope, which they could not hope for at his sonnes handes, who as ordinarily newe Kinges affecte newe seruantes, would employe his meanes but to the aduancement of his fauourites, or in recompensing their paines and seruice towards him, of whome himselfe had beene an eye witnesse.

About the ende of Nouember, *Ferdinande* King of Romanes, hauing assembled together the greatest parte of his men of warre, wente downe the Danube as farr as Vienne, to make head against the Turke, who made great preparation for his descente into Hungarie, to besiege agayne Vienne in Austria as I will shewe you.

To open vnto you the assayres and chaunges of the Realme of Englande in fewe woordes: *Henry* the eyght, discontented in that he had no other heyre but *Mary* borne of *Katherine*, aunte vnto the Emperour, whome his brother *Arthur* had married at the age of foureteene yeetes, and leste her a Virgine, by the aduice of the Cardinall of Yorke, and many dyuines as well Frenche, as Almaines and English, diuorced her, and hauing in full assemble declared his daughter *Marye* illegitimate, married *Anne Bullen*, one of his wives maydes: the which Pope *Clemente* the seuenth so hardly coule digest, as that he condemned this diuorce, as vniust, and of euill example, especially for that *Anne* was a Lutherane, and he feared lest the King and all his Realme would conserue them selues to the like religion. Whereat *Henry* tooke such displeasure, as he declared himselfe head of the Church thorough out all Englande, with forbidding any to aduowe the Pope for head, or to transporte any money to Rome, or paye Peterpence, a reuennewe which euerye house yearlye payde according to the ordynance of *Lane* in the yeere seven hundred and fourtie: Whereupon there ensued a great alteration of Religion thorough out the whole Realme, so confirmed by *Edwarde* his sonne, as that the catholique was cleane banished out of Englande, at the least in publique, which caused many Englishmen to flye the Realme, to seeke in some other Countrey a place of more free conscience. Secyng that the Dukes of Sommerfet and Northumberlande gouerned the roaste in the yeere 1553. Notwithstanding as after the death of the Duke of Sommerfet, the Duke of Northumberlande (secyng howe the King was fallen sieke of a Flux, which fell into his stomache from the month of Februarie) had married his sonne *Guylford* to *Lane* daughter to the Duke of Suffolke, and conserued the sick King, hee wrought so much, as that the young King reiecting his sisters *Marye* and *Elizabeth*, declared for his heyre, and inherite vnto the Crowne of Englande, this *Lane* of Suffolke, to the ende that by this meanes hee might transferre the Royaltie into his owne House, and disinherit the true Heyres of their righte, and legitime Succession. This Marriage and Testamentarie declaration beeyng done in the month of May gaue occasion to a number, to thinke that this young King, whome they helde for the pillar of men of knowledge, and gaue great hope of future vertue, was poisoned, and that beeing assured of the time of his death, they had caused him to doe whatsoeuer they would haue him: well, were he of poison or of a Curre, so it is, that *Edwarde* the first of that name,

name, and the one and fourtie K. of England, dyed the sixt day of Iuly, the seuenth yeere of his Raigne, and the sixteenth of his age, solemnly entered at Westminster, not without the teares of his subiects, who saide that his death was prefiged by a Comet which appeared a little before his departure, and by the great stormes, windes, tempests, and thunders, which had that yeere tormented London the chiefe Citie of the Realme, as the witness of such troubles as shortly after ensued in England: for the people hating in secrete this Duke of Northumberland, held for suspected the testament of King *Edwarde*, as a thing made too much to the aduantage of the Duke and many Lords of the Countrey, terming him too ambitious, wrote vnto *Mary* the eldest daughter of K. *Henry* the eight, encouraging her to declare her selfe Queene, and offering vnto her all dutie and seruice. *Marye*, who had no great meanes, durst not so soone come to London, to the ende that according to the custome, she might remaine ten daies in the Tower before her Coronation, but went into the Countrey and Dukedome of Norfolk, bordering on the Sea coast: from whence she wrote to sundrie Princes and Lords of the Countrey, complayning how that *Lane* of Suffolke, had enterprised against her, and that *Edwarde* was not able to dispose of the Crowne which appertained vnto her, being the next daughter vnto the late King *Henry*: she laide before them the wrong which had beene done vnto *Katherine* her mother, and next vnto her selfe, and that none of King *Henry* his children were to succede before her: protesting that shee would pursue her right by the sworde, and not suffer the Duke of Northumberland to vaunt how he would dispose at his pleasure of the Realme of England. These letters being brought to London at the selfe same time as *Lane* of Suffolke against her will, was proclaimed Queene within the Tower of London, caused a great chaunge of dispositions among the Lordes there present and a strange alienating of their mindes touching the case of *Lane*, whome sundrie from thence forth left to take *Maries* parte. The which caused the Duke of Northumberland to send certaine troupes of men at armes, into the Countrey of Norfolk, thinking thereby to hinder her desseins. But in the meane time shee was proclaimed Queene in Suffolke by the principall personages of the land. So as hauing recovered some succours from the Emperour on the coast of Flaunders, (albeit that the Duke had strongly armed vpon the Seas to hinder their comming) shee practised with a number of the cheefe of the Duke his armie, which in the ende incorporated themselves to hers. In the meane time Northumberland, to playe on the surer side, would needs haue the Duke of Suffolke Father to *Lane*, to goe as her Lieutenant generall against *Marye*: for hee durst not leaue London, fearing least the Londiners would reuolte: But the Duke of Suffolke refusing to take this charge vpon him, he was constrained to goe him selfe the other remayning to serue to giue counsell to his daughter within the Tower of London. The mishappe notwithstanding of this poore Lord was such, as of a great number of men which hee had in his trayne, hee saw himselfe as it were euen in a moment left cleane destitute of them all. And as one mishappe neuer commeth alone, hauing for want of men sent to London for fouldiours from thence to come to his succours, and for some Lordes which might serue for hostages and warrant of his lyfe they were no sooner without the Citie, but they declared themselves for *Marye*. Whereof it ensued that the Duke, who hoped to see his Sonne King of England, sawe himselfe left of euery manne, and deliuered into the handes of *Marye* his enemye, afterwarde conueyed to London, where his tryall beeing made, hee then was

Letters & plaints
of Mary aspiring
the Crowne of
England.

condemned to loose his head; the iudgement being executed in the moneth of September; and *Marie* being proclaimed Queene at London by the Lords and counsellors of the whole Realme of England, as the lawfull heire apparant thereunto: and in the end the miserable princeesse *Katharine of Suffolk*, with her husband come vnto the Duke of Northumberland; had their heads stroken off at London; for that shee would not release (as some said) the right which shee pretended to the Crowne. Thus ceased the trouble on that side within the Realme of England.

Marie being thus receiued for Queene in England, they propounded vnto her certaine points to effectuate: as to reestablish the aunient Chatholique Religion, & the goods of the Church into their former estate, then that it would please her to marry with some Prince worthie of her and her Realme, thereby to draw a succour vnto the Crowne. Whereupon to the end that better and more ready order might be giuen vnto the first; shee was counceiled to send for her coussen *Raynolde Pole* then a Englishman at Rome for Religion, who coming as Legate, and with full power from the Pope, might better aduance such a matter then any other within the Realme. *Pole* being sent for, and forward on his way with such authoritie as was required, was entertained by the Emperour *Charles* the first to visit him as he passed by at Bruxelles: where he cunningly handled any Englishman, as he promised him that he would further the marriage betweene his Cousin the Queene of England, and his sonne *Philippe* Prince of Spaine, which tooke such effect as you haue seene touching the seconde point which could not be so soone brought to passe. The Legate being receiued with great deuotion and magnificence into his Country, was in full assembly of the three estates of the Realme, begon the 12. of Nouember 1554. restored vnto all his dignities, goods and honours, whereof he had bene deuiued by *K. Henrie* the eight. Afterwards vpon Wensday the twentieth of that moneth, the Parliament of England being assembled, and in the presence of the King and Queene, hee exposed his Legation, and exhorted them to returne to the holy See of the Pope, delivering vnto them, how greatly bound they were vnto almighty God, who now had enlarged towards them his diuine grace, hauing bestowed vpon them two such Princes as they had, further he shewed vnto them how the holy Father ment to vse his benignitie and accustomed clemencie, by him his Legate: greatly thanking them for that they had receiued him into his Countie, and restored him in bloud, where in hee had bene so long attaint: and how in respect thereof hee helde himselfe the more bound to procure that they might be restored into the heavenly Court, as his principal desire was. That done hee retired, to giue the better comoditie vnto the Lords of the Parliament to resolue themselves. And straight waies the Chancellour repeating the words of the Cardinal, shewed vnto them how much they were to thanke God, who had rayfed vp such a Prophet of their owne seede to procure their saluation. In such wise as al with a common accorde concluded to consent to the vniou and obedience of the Church of Rome. So as on the next morrow it was ordayned, that the Cardinals motion shoulde be accorded, and to present with a common consent, a petition to beseech their Maiesties, as the head of the realme to entreate the Legate to procure an absolute remission of all their errors passed: Promising to repeale all the lawes, which had bene in former times established against the authoritie of the See of Rome. The King sent the petition to the Legate, and the day after the Parliament reassembled in the place where the King and Queene with the Cardinal were set. There the Chancellour rose vpp, and with such great

reference

reference deliuered alowde the resolution which had bene made by the Lordes of the Parliament, beseeching in the name of them all, that their petition might be accepted, which was written in Latine, formed and sealed by the Chancelour. The petition being opened by the Legate, was deliuered vnto the Chancelour to publish, who read it with a lowde voice, and that done, put it to the question, which they all passed, and vpon that the King and Queene arose, and presented the petition vnto the Legate who read the same. Afterwards hee gaue vnto them the Bulls of his Legation to reade, where by might appeare the authoritie which hee had from the holy Father to be able to absolue them: that done, he made vnto them an Oration in English, shewing how much repentance was agreeable vnto God, and how the Angels in Paradise make more ioye of a sinner which returneth to repentance, then of nintie and nine iust. And thereupon applied certaine examples out of the word to his purpose. Then hauing ended his speech he arose vp, and the King and Queene kneeled downe on both knes before him, inuoking God and the Saints, that it would please him, to pardon the penitent people, in the authoritie of him whose person he there represented, all the faults which they had committed in times passed; that done the Legate pronounced a generall absolution. Afterwards they all followed the King, Queene and Legate to the Chappell, where was song *Te Deum*. And after that the Cardinal had made his triumphant entries, he restored on the first Sunday in *Aduent* to the Bishoppes, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, all the power, authoritie and prerogative, which had bene taken from them. On which day, the Bishoppe of Winchester hauing bene before times of the Protestant Religion, made a Sermon, after a solemne Masse, taking for his theame, *Nunc tempus est de somno surgere*, that is to say, it is now time to awake out of sleepe, as if he woulde saie that vnder the Raigne of *Edward* King of England he had alwaies bene asleepe. The Queene had in the beginning sent Embassadors to Rome, with commission to kisse the seete of his holinesse, and to present vnto him the dutie of a Chatholike Queene, and an obedient daughter of the holy and Apostolique Church of Rome, which shee acknowledged for the head, Matrice and Soueraigne of all the Churches of Christendome, and mother of all the Princes making profession of the Gospell. Which was so agreeable vnto the Pope, and the whole Courte and people of Rome, that for a publike testimonie thereof they made Bonfires, and solemne processions praising God for this conuersion. Afterwards, and in the yeare 1555. another Parliament was summoned in England, in which among other things Queene *Marie*, wrought by all the means shee was able, that the Abbies lands might be restored, for so much as the Pope did vrge it very hard. But by reason that the Nobilitie and Gentlemen stoodde sealed thereof, and that manie had guists thereof from the King, nothing coulde be brought to passe as shee desired. Notwithstanding the Queene preuailed so much, as the tenthes were graunted to the Clergie: during this assembly they scattered and sowed about London little pamphlets very biting, among which some were sufficiently enough able to moue the people to sedition against the Spanniardes, (with whom the Englishmen playde a thousand shrewd turnes) and to turne the Queene from the loue of *Phillip*: Great search was made, but it neuer could be possibly known whence they proceeded. Before this assembly was dissolved and matters dispatched, the B. of Winchester being Chancelour dyed of a Dropsie; *Thomas Heath* Archbishoppe of Yorke, who before that, had bene in Germanie with him of Caunterburie, and professed the Protestant Religion, succeeded in his place.

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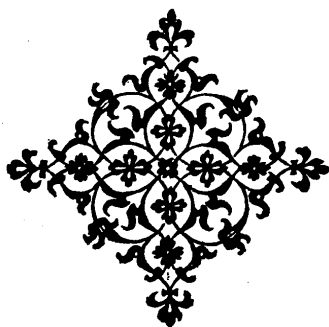
After

Libels against the Spanniardes in England.

As accorde: bee-
tweene the King
and the Duke of
Bretagne, for his
clame to the Dut-
chie of Bretaine

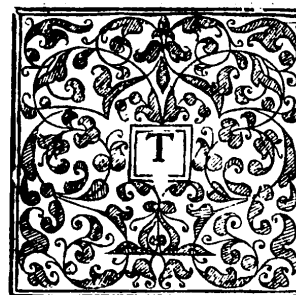
After the victualing of Mariembourg, and the attempts of *Deux Givets*, the King being informed of the auncient clames of the houses of Blois and Mont-forte to the Dutchie of Bretaine, to appeale with the selfe same hand the quarrels which were redoubled, by the Lady *Anne* Queene of Fraunce, and Dutches of Bretaine, issued out of the bloud of *Mon-fort*, in whose right the King himselfe claimed, to accorde this olde difference with *Mesire Jean de Brosse*, Duke of estampes, and Earle of Pontieue, heire of the house of Blois rightes, hee accorded in such sorte, as this Duke released vnto him, for himselfe and his successors Kinges of Fraunce, all rightes, titles, reasons, and actions, which hee pretended to the Dutchie of Bretaine, in right of his mother the Ladie *Marie* of Bretaine issued out of the house of Blois, and the King cleane acquired and transferred vnto him the Countie of Pontieue, sauing certaine Ports betwene *Couegnon*, and *Haugnon*, and the Seicheries of *Cornoaille*. Whereof autenticall letters passed betwene them.

The



The Historie of Fraunce.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.



He narration of matters passed hath made you able to know no lesse the desire thē the necessitie which the French had of a generall peace, vnder the benedite whereof they hoped to forget all, at the least, part of so many losses passed, and of the present miseries, which caused them to feare much more mischefe to ensue: you haue seene how stoute these Princes shewed themselues vpon their treaties, by the aduantageous conditions which their Embassadours had charge from them to repose. In the ende notwithstanding, yeelding vnto the aduise of their Councell, they thought good to renew againe the negotiation. Iointe the feare which the Imperials had of the comming of the Turks, and the desire of *Marie* Queene of England to haue her husband still about her, hoping there by to get an inheritor vnto her Crowne, to restore the Catholike Church into her Countrie, not to enter league with any one to warre against another, to ease her Realme of so great charges, & not to breede any occasions of new riots and mutinies amongst her people: Of all which points shee cleane lost the hope, if her husband should bee absent, employing in the managing and conduct of warre. Besides the peaceable nature of this Prince, which made great accounte of the good Councell which his Father gaue him, to procure a reconciliation with all Princes rounde about him, were sufficient occasions to mooue him instantly to request the Cardinall *Pole* to renew againe the tearmes of peace: or at the least to conclude a good truce, for a releaseto so great mischiefes. Whereupon seeing the difficultie of articulating the conditions with such aduantages as each one desired, the truce was concluded for fise yeares, the fift day of Februarie, 1556. ceasing al quarrels, and beginning againe to enter traficque, and Marchandise one with an other, as well by Sea, as land, euery man retaining what they had gotten and taken by right of warre, without being able to agree vpon their prisonners, (among whome the D. of Ascot a Flemming, and *Francis de Montmorency*, eldest sonne vnto the Constable were the principall) with many other conditions, which were proclaimed at Paris the sixteene day of Februarie. And afterwards the Comte de *Lallain* was at Blois in April to confirme the

Occasions which
moued K. Philip
& Marie of Eng-
land to harken
to a peace.

the same with the King, as also the Admirall *De Chastillon* was at Bruxelles with the Emperour and King *Philip*, to receiue there the oath of their part: wherein it was not forgotten to motion a marriage, betwene *Don Carlo* eldest sonne vnto *Philip*, and Prince of Spaine, with the Ladie *Isabel* eldest daughter vnto the King. But if Fraunce and the prouinces which cōfined on the Septentrional side, hoped for repose during the continuance of this truce, new occasions of more fresh mischiefs presented themselves on the other side especially towards Italy.

You haue seene the election of the Cardinall *Theatin* to the Papacie: and for that the house of *Caraffe*, out of which hee was descended, and of *Melphy*, being of the most speciall marke within the Realme of Naples, haue alwaies remained deuoted vnto the Crowne of France, which euer honourably entertained them, the *Colonois*, *Yrsins*, and other families of Rome partakers of the Emperour, fearing to bee made stoope, and least the Pope would too much exalt the friends of the French, whome he might call into Italy, (for that the Church of Rome pretendeth the Realme of Naples to be of her proper Domanie) and least, together with the graunts made vnto the Kings of France, confirmed by the Popes predecessors, and other matters which the King there demaunded, he should make a new ratification, with intent to bee able to preuaile, helde themselves in the beginning vpon their gards, then as the fearefull man interpreteth, all newter things, simple and doubtfull to his disadvantage, they suspected in such wise the actions of the Pope and his confederates, as they well furnished with men, armour, and other munition such lodgings as they had within the Towne. Whereof the Pope being aduertised, & as soone animared against them, he leauied men: and by a generall muster tooke away armes from those whome hee thought had too much: he munitioned the places within Rome, and well furnished the Castle of Saint Angelo with all necessities. Afterwards, as a man licenseth himselfe accordingly, as leaseure and libertie is giuen vnto him, he sealed vpon the strongest places which were about Rome, into which he put Garrisons. And at the same instance caused to be imprisoned or assigned a breue day, to the authors of their commotion, among the rest the Cardinall *S. Fleur*, *Camille Collone*, *Iulian Cesarin*, and *Afcaigne de la Corne*. All which stomacking, that they were so strangely handled, fled vnto the Emperour and his sonne, vowing themselves vassals vnto them, where by they might find succour, causing them so much to mislike the forme, wherewith the Pope had proceeded, and to doubt in such sorte the desseins of the French partie in Italy, as they sent straight to the Dukes of Alua and Flourence, to assemble all their forces, and hauing ioyned them together with such new as they appointed vnto them, so to shut vp the Pope and his adherents, that no meanes shoulde bee left vnto them, but bare words, to expresse the repentance of such an attempt: which they performed in a very short space, hauing by the meanes and conduct of the *Colonois* among other, regained from the Pope manie fortresses, whereof they rendred some to these complainants. Afterwards building many forts about Rome, neere Ostia, vpon the banke and course of Tiber, they put the Pope in such a straight within the Castle of Sainte Angelo, Rome in such necessitie, and her supports so bare of meanes, as they were constrained to demand succour of the King of Fraunce, as of the first sonne of the Church, sending vnto him by the Cardinall *Caraffe*, nephew vnto Pope *Paul 4.* his Legate, a Hat after the fashion of the auncient Romane Senators, and a Sword, signifying the defence of the Church, and Apostolike Sea. Who being come to Fontainebleau about the end of Iune, deliuered the presents vnto the King whome hee summoned, and abiured to succour the head of the Christian Religion, according vnto the

the title of most Christian, which was giuen vnto him thourough the endeour of his predecessors, who had many times restored the Popes into their seates, against tyrants, paganes, and other: especially as his late father in fresh memorie did touching Pope *Clement* besieged within Rome, afterwards in the Castle of S. Angelo, by the troups of *Charles* of Bourbon, and Prince of Orange, successinly generals ouer the Imperiall armie. To whome hauing answered that he would take counsell vpon it, he put him notwithstanding in a good hope, assuring him that hee would faile no whit in the vertuous deportments of his auncetors, and would succour the holy Father with all his might, in any reasonable sort. Afterwards notwithstanding hauing giuen aduice to the Emperour and his sonne, endeavouring to meditate the whole rather by perswasions, then to come to action, contrarie to the couenants, so solemnly sworne of each parte, for the repose of all the Christian Churches. According to which at a feast which the King made at Fontainebleau, he caused before supper all the Embassadours to retire into the Chappell, in the presence of whome he told the Emperours to this effect. That his master was not able to excuse himselfe, but that the waite which the Seigneur *Marc Anthonie* Colone made against the Pope, was maintained, and conducted at his expences and prouisions. Moreouer this Cardinall had bene not long before scene in Fraunce a man of war at the Kings seruice, and was so fauourably entertained, that he was soone laden with presents. Now for that there was no Bishoppricke void at that time, *Bertrande* the Lord-keeper of the great Seale, being requested by the King lent vnto him his Bishoppricke of Comings, which he bestowed vpon the Cardinall *Caraffe*: and afterwards *Bertrande* was made Cardinall of Sens. *Charles* Cardinall of Lorraine, being returned a little before from Rome, (hauing bene sent thither to congratulate the election of the Pope, confirme the amitie of the French, and if it were possible to draw him in League against the Emperour, and who with great capitulations had made *Hercules* the second Duke of Ferrare, the Kings Lieutenant generally in Italy) seemed to fauour the desseine of the Pope.

In such an occurrence the King wanted no aduise, & that very diuers: they which councelled him to breake the truce, laide before him the immortal honour which he should obtaine to defend, yea and to free out of such a seruitude the great Pontife the holy Father, and the vniuersall head of all the Christians in the world; which he wastyed the rather to doe, for that he seemed pricked forwardes thereunto, by a generall emulation of so many Kings his auncetors, who to retire him out of his enemies hands, and to carrie themselves as the true pillar of the Christian building, haue attained and preferred as it were from hand to hand, that faire and so honourable title of Most Christian, and eldest sonne of the Catholique Church. They likewise set before him the incredible profit, which he should make in the conquest of that goodly Realme of Naples, which being withdrawne from the Crowne of Fraunce, by the ingenious malice of the Castilians, and Aragonols, stood so small assured betwene their hands, that with the great authoritie which the Pope had thoroughout all Italy, and the particular meanes of his owne house within that Realme, together with the fauours of so many Princes, who desired nothing more, then to see againe the Flower de Luce better founded there then heretofore, there was no doubt but that the armie which he might send thither, would carrie it away euen at their first abord, considering the discontentment which the Italians carried against the Spaniards, who mastered them with all kinde of Rigor: and considering the small forces which were there, and the retreat of the Emperour *Charles* the fift: who not to con-

Charles Cardinall of Lorraine and his vyage in into Italy.

found

Persecutions to
peruise.

founde himselfe in the vanities of this world, had quitted all his goods, and estates thereby to liue private, and out of all managing of humane affaires. And to remoue from him any opinion of dishonour, which they would imprint vnto him, that dissuaded him from breaking of his faith, giuen to the obseruing of this truce, they declared vnto him that the accident since happened vnto his holines, caused so much more all occasions to vanish, which might moue him to keepe his word, as the Pope is aboue all the persons of the world. And as the Sonne could not be thought to doe his dutie, if he did not rush vpon his kin/man or allie, what friendship socuety were sworne betwene them, which went about to endamage his Father. So the malicious ambition of *Charles*, and *Philip* of Austria, who holde the Pope prisoner, to enforce him to doe their will, to the seruitude of all Italy, whence they determined to chase out the credit of the French, was sufficient cause enough for him, to declare himselfe protectour of the holy Sea against all violence. All good conuentions are lawful and to be kept, but the Pope *Christs* Vicar is aboue all, is alwaies & in all things excepted, as euery Soueraigne is in a reciprocall oth made among his subiectes: for they cannot preiudice the rights of their Prince, much lesse then Christians the right of the Pope, especially in a case of such importance. Iointe that Truces doe not forbid war, but in Countries of obedience, not in other places where they haue nought to doe. Moreouer they do not hinder one from taking vpon him the defence of some friend or allie, by a much more strong reason then of him, to whome all Christians are redewable for what focuety they haue in this worlde, as to Gods Licutennant on earth.

Anne de Montmorency, and his nephewes *Odet* and *Gaspard* of Coligny, called Chastillon with many others, represented vnto him for the contrarie, the eternall and generall dishonour in all countries, which he should get by breaking his faith, so solemnly sworne for the repose of his subiects, & vniuersall good of all Christendome so miserably torne in peeces, thorough the continuance of so vilarious warres: yea and that there was a time, in which ther was demaunded of Princes only their word for all assurances: by reason that they saw them so wife and vertuous, as they woulde not change their promises for all the aduantages of the worlde. But as the malice of men encreased, whereto the Princes by little and little participated, so subiectes and strangers haue required at Princes handes their faith, and oath, which all men, yea the very Turkes, and other of contrary Religion, hold inuiolable, sauing at this daye Christians, which first made shew of being willing to dispence with so Religious a bond, as an oath is: which cannot but turne to the great dishonour and generall obloquie of all Christendome: the which no longer acknowledging any assurance vailable among men, will fall into such a confusion, that the strongest, and most malicious, will make subiect the good, right, honour and all vertue at his pleasure. By consequence then there is no apparance of honour to be gotten in succouring the Pope, who of himselfe, in respect of the dutie of his charge, ought to be ashamed to aske it, and to giue occasion to such periurie and disloyalie: Yea if he were asked, how hee would truly iudge, or practise in his owne act if he were a King, he would make no difficultie to dissuade so pernicious a deliberation: much lesse the hope of a conquest of a Realme ought to stir him vp thereunto, considering the impossibilitie of gaying it, or at the least keeping it, by men so farre off, so euill husbands, and bad providers against a nation so neere and wel aduised as the Spaniard: and especially that this hope is founded vpon the amitie of Italians, whome we haue found for the most part vnconstant, and variable in their duties, as so many examples passed may very well

well make vs wise enough, to counsaile well therein our suruiuours. And it is so farre off, that the farre distance of the Emperour ought to encourage vs to doe euill, as the good aduices wherewith he hath instructed his sonne: the aduised and provided personages, which he hath leste vnto him for counsell: the alliaunce of the English which will furnish him both with men and money: together with the resolution which he hath not to degenerate in ought from the vertues of his father, nay rather to encrease them higher, if occasion did present it selfe, ought to make vs the more to feare the vndertaking thereof, and to assure vs that we shall find ynough, nay more forces and meanes to stay vs euen in the best of the enterprise, then if the father himselfe had taken the conduct thereof. All this notwithstanding, and many other reasons which were alleadged, coulde not hinder the breach of the truce and the expedition which was made into Italle, chiefly in the ende by the diligence of the Conestable. For albeit that he helde a hard string to the contrarie, yet hee slackted for two occasions. First, that he perceyued, through the absence of these vnderakers, he mought haue faire and easie meanes to make great and assure his house: so as hee was not in the ende ouerforrie, to see them of the house of *Guise*, bearing armes to quitte the Courte, and goe the voyage, whereof hee hoped for no happie euent. Iointe, that he sought to marrie his eldest sonne, (whom 50000. crownes had a few dayes before redeemed out of prison) with the widdow of the Duke of Castre, the kings aduowed daughter. Whereupon the marriage being accorded, euen as it stood vpon the poynte to be accomplished, his sonne let him to vnderstande in October, by *Odet* and *Gaspard* of Coligny his cousin germanes, howe he had made a promise vnto the Ladie of Pienes: & that he coulde haue no other. Whereat the father grieuouly displeased, endeououred notwithstanding by all meanes to accomplishe this marriage. So as hauing caused Pienes to be put in sure garde within the house of *Ville Dieu*, he considered with himselfe, that herein he shoulde stande in neede of the Popes assistance, that he sent his sonne to Rome, where he found *Pierre Siroff* marshall of Fraunce, and they beganne together so well to besture themselves for the Pope, as they recouered agayne the porte of Ostye, and other places occupied by the Spaniards about Rome, which serued him but as a prison. And yet all the meanes which mought be, was wrought with the Pope, that he should not dispence with him to marrie any other then Pienes: fearing least that being once obtained the Conestable would breake the desseins of the warre. Whereof he being aduertised, and seeing howe the Pope vsed him but with delays, & dissimulations, he besought him to contente himselfe with the seruice which he had done vnto him: So as hauing taken his leaue, he returned to Paris, a few dayes before Easter, 1557. declaring vnto his Father, that that which he let him to vnderstande of the promise which he had made vnto Pienes, was only to induc him vnto the marriage, but that in truth there was no other matter, in such sorte as presently after the marriage was accomplished with the Ladie of Castres. The denyall thereof notwithstanding proceeding from the promise, which he maintained he made vnto Pienes, was the cause of an Edicte which was then published, for the reciprocall dutie of parents and children, vpon the occurrence of their marriage.

Edicte of childrens marriages.

THE K. ordaineth, That such children, as shall contract secreete marriage, against the will, or vntilting vnto their father, and mother, be disinheritred, and declared incapable

Marriage of
Marshall
Montmorency
eldest sonne to
the Conestable.

The Pope the
last succour to
die vnto for
breach of truce
and oathes.

able of all aduantages and profits, which they might pretende by the meanes of, martiall con-
 pensions, or by the benefite of customes or lawes of the contrarie. And thus the fathers and mo-
 thers may reuoke any gisfts, and aduantages given by them. They likewise declared, penible
 which shall giue counsaill & ayde for the consummation of such marriages. That this ordinance
 shall take place as well for the time to come as passed, because there is therein a transgression of the
 lawe and commaundementes of God, wherein no man may couer himselfe, by any ignorance, or
 foole the error to the contrarie. Reserved notwithstanding such marriages, as haue bene here-
 tofore consummate by carnall colliabitation: and not comprehending sommes above the age of
 thirtie yeeres, or daughters of fine and twensie, provided that they vse all ductie to seeke the
 aduise and counsaill of their father, and mother. It grew then when as the Constable
 beganne to mislike the enterprise of Italie, as I will tell you elsewhere.

Hereupon the Cardinall carryed tydings of the whole vnto his Holynes, whi-
 lest that the King sent the Popes griefes vnto the Emperour, and his sonne as it were
 to be the meanes to render him content. Ioint that he would not so loone attempt
 any thing against them, for the opinion which hee conceyued, that they were not
 consenting, and lesse the authours of such novelties. Some assuredly gaue out, that
 Philippe answering more eagerly then his Father, sayd that for his parte he desired the
 continuance of the Truce, and rather a peace if it were possible to bring it to perfecti-
 on. But howe he had alwayes founde the Pope, and his affinitie so great an enemy
 vnto his house, that whosoever would declare himselfe his friende vnder taking his
 defence, he would holde him for an enemy. & ouerrunne him with all his forces.
 This notwithstanding, the King stirred not of a long time any whitt in the Popes
 fauour, were it that his meanes were not yet in his hande, were it that he perswaded
 himselfe verie well of K. Philips good inclination to the continuance of the Truce,
 by the report of Renard his ambassadour, who assured him that his Masters intention
 was cleane contrarie to the answer hee had giuen, of else that he hoped that the truce
 would not leaue to be kept inuolable in this case, nowe that the Imperiales armed
 themselves in Italie for the restitution of the Colonis: yea so farr as by playntes,
 and requests redoubled, they knew that they were entrented at Rome gates, where
 the Pope was straightly enclosed within the castle of S. Angelo. And further how
 Octavian Farnese solicited by the Imperiales, and gayned by the Cardinall Farnese
 his brother, & S. Fleur his cousin, was reuoked from the King to them, who a little
 before causing his father to be slayne, would disinherit him, which made him to
 listen eare vnto them, who assured him that they meant to ouerthrowe the Pope, to the
 will of the Emperour, and chase the French out of Italie. So as the King resolved to
 breake the truce, determined to sende an armie vnder Francis de Lorraine Duke of
 Guise, composed of 6000. Switzers vnder the Colonel Frelon, and 4000. French vnder
 the Duke of Nemours, with 500. men at armes, and 300. light horse, who ha-
 uing late enough made readie his preparatiues, was enforced diligently to hasten to
 passe ouer the mountaines of Sauoy, and the Alpes in the great fusties and infinitum-
 wayles which Winter brought with it. Such was one of the principall occasions of
 this warre. I leaue the pretence of the Realme of Naples, to those who fanfie it vnto
 themselves against those of Guise, without any great apparence. Ioint likewise the
 particular reason, which some alleadge, to shewe howe these Truces made, and en-
 tertayned in dissimulation, were but to couer the progresse, and effectes of such in-
 telligences as these Princes had one vpon another. I will recite vnto you the meanes
 by which the Imperiales as the French reported, gaue iust occasion vnto them to
 breake the Truce, and depayre of a peace.

Without

Without agrauating say they, the rigorous entertainement made vnto our priso-
 ners of warre, more cruell then could be among the Moores & Infidels: Yea leauing
 aparte how the D. of Bouillon was villanously, and trayterously poysoned, and after-
 wardes solde being dead; it is most notorious, that a fewe dayes after the conclusion
 of the Truce, euery man on this side, living with a hope of peace at hand, it was veri-
 fied by the reporte of the conspiratours, how many enterprises had bene attempted
 vpon the principall Townes of this Realme, as of the souldiers of Metz resolved to
 yeilde the Towne, at the pursuite of the Compt de Meigue, Gouverneur of Luxem-
 bourg, and with the priuitie of the Prince of Piemont. The intelligencie vpon Bour-
 deaux in Guienne at the conduct of Barlemon, Generall of Finances to the Empe-
 rour, a little before Easter, and a moneth after the Truce accorded. Few dayes after
 there was taken an ingener, and maker of fortifications, named Iaquet de Flechas, who
 confessed that he was sente by the Prince of Piemont, to viewe, and draw the plat-
 tes of the principall Townes vpon the Frontire, with money imprest, as Montreuil, Saint
 esprit de Rue, Dourlan, S. Quentin, and Mezieres. Besides a prouencial souldier sub-
 borned with great presents to poylon the Welle at Mariembourg, and consequently
 the whole Garrison, thereby to make the surprisall of the towne the more easie. Thus
 did the Emperour first infringe the Truce contrarie to the publique oath. Albeit that
 all contractes and accordes especially among Princes (who are themselves to be ex-
 ample of the greatest conformation to the Lawes which they make) ought not only
 to be without deceit and malice, but exempt of all suspicion, considering that therein,
 besides the ductie of conscience, and of an honest man, their particular acte alone is
 not comprised, but the whole good, and vniuersall repose consisteth. They adde
 thereto the great preparations of men, and money, which Philip secretly made of all
 partes, namely at the solliciting of the King of Boheme, and Princes of Germanie, to
 vnder take a warre against the King, for the recouering of free Townes, without
 calling his Captaines & men of warre. So as soone enough the Garrisons of Mel-
 neil, beganne to ouerrunne the platte Countie, about Abbeuille, S. Esprit de Rue,
 Auannes, Cymetz, Roc-Roy, & Ambenton, vnder colour that famine enforced the
 therunto. Henry the hauing seene how K. Philip stil proceeded on against the Pope,
 and helde Rome besieged, sent worde to Pierre Strozzy (to whome he had giuen the
 office of Marechall of Fraunce, in the roome of the late Marechall de Sedan) that he
 should put himselfe within Rome, & abide the brunte of the Spaniards, vntil that the
 succours should be ariued out of Fraunce. In this meane space, Don Iean de Lune, mal-
 content with King Philip, retired from his seruice into Fraunce, towards King Henry,
 who courteously receyued him, and gaue him an honest pension to mainteine him,
 in such sorte as it was not possible for King Philips ministers to induce him to retire a-
 gayne into Spayne, what fayre promises soeuer they made vnto him. Some say that
 the Gouverneur of the Castle of Milan fledde, being suspected that hee would haue
 deliuered it vp to the King. The which other auowing to be false, say that the matter
 was about a quarrell betweene him and Ferdinand de Gonzague being disappointed of
 the gouernement of Milan, by the meanes of Don Iean de Lune, and the Chaunce-
 lour of Milan. For Gonzague being afterwarde returned into fauour, and purged of
 the crimes layde vnto him, pursued in such sorte Don Iean de Lune, as he being angric
 at the small respects, which was carryed to the great seruices which hee said hee had
 done the Emperour, left Milan, and came into Fraunce, without euer making any
 practise against the catholike K. The Emperours partisans in the meane time, the bet-
 ter to settle his affayres in Italie, & seeing how greatly Octavian Duke of Parma, and

S. 1.

his

Particular causes
 of the breach of
 Truce by the
 Imperiales.

Iean de Lune a
 fugitive into
 Fraunce.

The King of
 Spaine answered
 to such griefes as
 the K. alleadged
 on the Popes be-
 half.

his territories (the defence whereof had coste the French so much) mought aduantage him, especially in such an occurrence, employed the Cardinall of Trent, to gayne him vnto the Emperour, quitting King Henry, who had done him so great good, and for his sake had made warre against the Pope and Emperour, to the ende that the Duchies of Parma and Plaisance might bee restored and assured vnto him. In summe the Cardinall *Madruich*, Bishoppe and Lorde of Trent, was he, who according vnto the Accorde betweene the Catholique King and *Ostian*, restored him into the possession of Plaisance, where hee made his entrie verie sumptuously, and declared himselfe against the Pope and all his allies. The Duke of Alua in the meane space, ouerranne and spoyled the terretorie of Rome, and besieged the citie of Anagne, which the Popes souldiers abandoned, hauing burned all the powder and munition. The which astonied in such sorte the Cardinales at Rome, as they gotte the Pope to sende to the Spanish Generall to parley of Peace, but all in vayne, for as much as the Popes deputies were not at the breake of day appointed for the Pourparley. Which made the Duke so angrie against the Pope, as hee rushte vpon Pilastrine and Segue, which yelded: whilst that the Cardinall *Caraffe* fortified Bellitre, attending certaine troupes out of Germanie, which he caused to come, in hope of which and of the frenche Succours, he would by no meanes suffer any parley of Peace, saying that it was not befeeming for the Pope to seeke him, who was but a minister of a vassall Prince, & feodarie to the holy Sea. Alreadie did the forces of *Tuscane* ouerspread the countrey of Rome, where the Marschal *Strozzi* was. In such sorte as *Montuc* was to viewe Tiouly, to see if it were tenable conducting seuen hundred Gascoignes to defende it, in case there were any meanes to fortifie it. But seeing the place too feeble to endure a siege, and lesse proper in any shorte time to be fortified, he lefte it, giuing leaue to the Citizens to prouide for themselves, and to yelde it with the best aduantage they coule possiblie make for themselves, as they did.

After, *Montuc* being returned to Rome, and *F. Vrsin* to Vico-Valerio, the Tiouliens yelded them selues vnto the Duke of Alua: which were followed by them of Vico-Valerio, in despite of *F. Vrsin*, who would haue defended the place for the Pope, seeing howe necessarie it was to hinder any victualles comming to the Spanishe campe from Naples side.

Beholde howe the Duke of Alua was able to holde Rome in subiection, hauing the places rounde about at his deuotion.

Afterwardes he made a number of fortes on the side of Ostia, to holde the Romanes yet in greater necessitie, and cutte off their victualles from all partes, to the ende to famish them. Attending the succours out of Fraunce notwithstanding, *Alexander Colonne*, which followed the Popes partie, was of opinion that Rome being deuided into diuers quarters, there should be in euery one a severall Captaine put, with his troupes to defende it. Therefore *Alexander* was made Colonell of all the Romanes, which mought amount to 7. or 8. thousand, whom he dispersed into places as he sawe neede, entermingling among them some Enseignes of souldiers, as well Italians as Gascoignes. So as *Lansac* had in guard the gate called *De Populo*, hauing 1000. Gascoignes vnder his charge. The D. of Palliane, nephew to the Pope, had the keeping of the gate *S. Agnes*, hauing 800. Almanes in his company. *Tourdan Vrsin* came out of Corse, commanded 6. Italian companies at the gate of *S. Lawrence*, the Cardinall *Caraffe* at *S. Sebastian*, hauing 500. Italians, and the rest of the Gascons were vnder *Montuc* his charge at the gate *S. Paul*. *Aurelie Fregose* kept betweene the

Tiber,

Tiber, with 1500. souldiers, *Camille Vrsin* commaunded the quarter of *S. Peter*, with 2000. footemen. So as these troupes performing well their ducie, the Spanish Generall durst not hazzard himselfe to make any attempt to the towne, onely hee kept himselfe flyelic watching his commodities, about all to cutte off victuals, whose temporising notwithstanding was an occasion, that the Cardinall *Caraffe* went into the fieelde, ouerranne & wasted the Neapolitane countrie, whilst that the D. of Alua, was busied about the Isle & Citie of Ostia, whereof he made himselfe Maister to the great disaduantage of the Romanes. This place being seated vpon the mouth of the riuier Tiber, where shee falleth into the Tyrrhene Sea, which vpon this occasion serueth as a chiefe Magasin for the bringing of victuals to Rome. Notwithstanding hee tooke not the Towre and Forte of the Cittie at that blowe. In the meane time the Pope hastened forwardes the Kings succours, and solicited him harde, not to suffer the Duke of Alua thus to spoyle the holy Sea: as he likewise did vnto the Venetians, hoping to drawe some succour from them, but that Seignurie comforting him with woordes, condoled his grievous mishappes, without vsing any other ducie, or office of amitie, sauing that they tooke paynes to seeke to appeale the differents, and mediate a peace betweene him and the Spanyardes. While these things were a doing, and the Spaniard battering the Forte of Ostia, the Marschal *Strozzi* came to the succour of it with such Troupes of Fraunce as he had, rearing vp certayne rampiers, and retrenches, that the enemye shoulde not carrie away the cattell, and other goodes of the Romanes, enclosed within that Isle. About the ende of December, the King, as I tolde you aboue, dispatched the Duke of Guise for to be Generall of the armie, which his Maiestie sente to the succour of the Pope, and with him Duke *Aumalle*, and Duke *Elhause* his brethren, the Duke of Nemours, the Earle of Eu, the Vidasme of Chartres, and other Chieftaines, all which mette together in Ianuarie 1557. (hauing ouercome with a constant and opinatiue patience, the sharpenesse of Winter, and difficultie of the Alpes,) at Turin the chiefe Citie of Piemont. For feare of whome the Spaniardes fortified Milan, knowing that the Frenche armie was composed of such a number of men, as I haue tolde you. During which time, such as were besieged in the Forte of Ostia, hauing abidden many assaultes, their powder fayling, their souldiers and citizens for the most parte hurt, in the ende yielded them selues by composition, which *Ascaigne de la Corne* caused to be accorded reasonable enough, whereat the Romanes were fore abashed. So as by the meanes of the Cardinales of *S. Iaques*, and of *S. Flour*, they came to make a Truce for tenne dayes. During which, the Duke of Alua finished the Forte which he had begunne in the Isle, bordering on the porte of Ostia, whither the Cardinall *Caraffe* wente vnto him, of whome he procured the prolonging of the Truce, free and marchandable for fourtie dayes, with a hope of a generall peace. But *Caraffe* tended to no other thing, then to solace his owne vntill the ariual of the Frenche, of whome hee helde himselfe alreadie all assured. And in the meane time hee assayed to drawe the Venetians to the partie, who in the ende refused to declare themselves against the K. of Spayne. But the D. of Ferrara followed the Popes partie, as well for that he was a vassall and feodarie, as in fauour of the K. of Fraunce, following the affociation alreadie concluded and agreed betweene them. So had he alreadie assurance, as I sayde before, of the title of Defendour of the Church, which the Kings of England were wont to carrie. The League betweene the Pope, the K. & the D. of Ferrara carried: That the Pope should to the number of twentie thousand footmen, & onethousand horse furnish the whole charges of the armie.

S. 2.

The

Plaisance restored to Ostian D. of Parma.

Point of Honour in a Cardinall.

The Duke of Alua besieged Rome, with the Pope and Cardinall for hisde, as he thought to famish them.

The meanes which the French and Italians helde to assure Rome and the Pope against the enemies attempts attending succours out of Fraunce.

Ostia taken by the D. of Alua.

The Venetians succour not the Pope.

The D. of Guise matcheth to Rome with the French armie.

The port of Ostia rendered by composition to the Spanyardes.

Truce betweene the Pope and the D. of Alua.

D. of Ferrara named the Defendour of the Church.

League between
the Pope, the
of Fraunce and
D. of Ferrara.

Italy in armes
upon the com-
mand of the
French.

The D. of Alua
his dilect.

The first at-
tempts of the
French armie
ioyned with the
Marschal
Brissac.

Valence yielded
vp to the D. of
Guise.

The K. should put the like number of fanterie into the fildes, and 2000. horse, & the Ferrarois 6000. souldiars, 200. men at armes, and 400. light horse with 20. peeces of battery. Thus the D. of Guise being entred into Italie, with an assured hope to ioine such succours to the forces which I haue shewed you, and a great number of the nobilitie which followed him for their owne pleasure, (& such as he mought well vaunt that he had neere hand the two tierce of the flower of the nobility of Fraunce) could not imprint into the heads of the Italians, but a feare of great mischief to ensue vnto all Italie, which he put into armes, in diuers hopes and dangerous partialities, through a suddaine entrie of so many people. Moreouer euerie man doubting with himselfe, and fearing least vnder the colour of the Popes succours the D. of Guise would giue elsewhere, was an occasion that first they fortified Milan, with all her dependances. Then they prouided suddenly strong Garrisons for Cremona, Pavia, Lode, Ast, Valence, and other places of importance. And in the meane space the Duke of Florence, armed himselfe, and put Garrison vpon the Frontiers of Ferrara. He furnished with souldiars Florence, Pisa, and other Townes vnder his obedience in Tuscanie, and aboute all, those which neighboured vpon Bologne.

Vpon this the Duke of Alua, who was no whitte ignoraunte of the Spanishe forces comming against him, was once vpon the poynte to retyre to Naples, as well for the doubte which he had, that he shoulde not be able to sustayne the furious assaulte of so freshe Troupes, as to drawe them and hemme them in within the enemies Countries, thereby by little and little to consume them with Famine, and other diseases: and had done so, but for the Counsell of *Ferdinand Gonzague*: He resolued then for the more expediente to reste there, and to sende *Garzie de Toledo*, the Comptie de S. Flour, *Vespasian Gonzague*, and other of the Realme of Naples, to furnishe the Townes of Capue, Arian, Saint Agathe, Venose, Nolle, Ciuitelle, Aterne, and the rest which are vpon the Calabrian Sea: Iointe that the bruite ranne howe the Turkeish armie was to lande therein fauour of the French, as it had before done in Corfe. The Duke of Guise in the meane time hauing ioyned his forces in Piemont, with the Marschal de *Brissac*, was at Valence, which had for Garrison two thousande souldiars, parte Italians, parte Spaniards, and Grizons vnder *Spoluerin*.

Nowe, as the Duke of Guise had caused the bruite to be giuen out, that they had taken Pavia, and that the Duke of Guise had caused Valence to be summoned to yeelde, or that if hee tooke it by force, he would vse all the cruckies which coulde be looked for in a mortall warre, *Spoluerin* fearing the losse of his great wealth, did so much after some skirmishes, and number of Cannon shotte, as the souldiars condescended to the yeelding of the place, prouided that they mought be suffered to depart, liues, & goods saued, the which was graunted vnto the about the 8. day of Ianuarie. 1557. But this Captaine *Spoluerin* and many other of the Garrison, being retyred to Pavia, were beheaded for yeelding so cowardly, hauing victuall and munition at commandement, within a verie strong place, and without seeing ought which mought moue them to yeelde it so soone. It was then, as the Cardinal of Trent, sent to summon the D. of Guise, to render Valence, vp into his hands, the which he had take against the articles of Truce: but it was answered him, how the D. of Alua hauing first brokē, he ought not to marvel if he followed his example: & therefore that he looke for no other effect at the handes of the French then warre, vntill that reason were yeelded to those which were most interessed, further, that hee had iustly handled them of Valence, for that his forces marching to the

the succour of the Pope, had bene braued by that Garrison, the which had saluted the with Cannon shotte. As the Duke of Guise marched towards Rome, *Strozzy*, *Montec*, and the Duke of Palliane, perceyuing the Duke of Alua to be retired from before Rome, beset Ostia, with five hundred souldiars, as well Italians as Galcoignes, and sixe hundred horse, which carried it away without any great paynes. Afterwards, they besieged the Forte, the which was yeelded vnto them in the ende by composition, and the Spaniards departed, liues, goods and weapons saued with some pieces of artillerie. At the verie same time, the Popes people tooke from the Spaniards, the townes of Bellitre, Tusculum Marin, (which was in olde time called *Villa Marij*, and *Grotta Ferrata*, some holde it was *Cicero* his place and Seigneurie, which he called *Tusculanum*) and diuers other within the territorie of Rome: They tooke besides Palestan, and S. Ange, a forte situate vpon a mountaine: S. Paul being likewise besieged by the enemy. The Duke of Palliane succoured by the Marschal *Strozzy* was there, and receyued the place agayne being abandoned by the Spaniards. Then he was to besiege Vico-Valerio which he tooke by assaulte, and put to fire and tworde all those which they mette in armes, giuing the pillage to the souldiars. All this passed ouer vnder the onely fright of the name of Guise, and of the armie which he ledde, who hauing helde a Councell at Valence, vpon the conduct of his dessein, intelligence still being of what passed at Rome, and hauing heard the aduice of the Marschal *Brissac*, *Louys de Birague*, *Vimerca*, and other of his armie, it was concluded, that the Marschal and other Captaynes ordayne in Piemont, shoulde returne to Turin, and make as many roades as was possible vpon the enemies countrie. In the meane time the Duke of Guise shoulde goe towards Ferrara, passing thorough the Countrie of Plaisance, the which was accordingly done. But not without the Marques of Pescaire his continuall being at his tayle, without any great prejudice notwithstanding, by reason of the good order which he gaue in the dis-camping, & conduct of his armie, the which was furnished with victuals in the Placentine Countrey, by the commandement of *Ostauian Farneze* D. of Parma: which the D. of Guise caused to be payd for, expressly forbidding any souldiar to doe wrong to the subiectes of this Prince. We will leaue then for a while the D. of Guise marching with his forces in Italie to the Popes succour, to enterlace you here an accidente, as straunge, as any which hath happened in the memorie of our forefathers.

David George, who since made himselfe to be called *Jean de Bruite*, borne at Delph in Hollande, an authour of a peruerse secte, making himselfe to be named by his followers, *King* and *Christ* immortall, dyed the yeere passed, 1556. the 24. day of August, and his wife a little before retired with a verie great familie of her owne to Basle in the yeere 1544. He sayde he was fled his owne Countrey for the Gospels sake, and there bought houses, and a Castle neere vnto the towne called *Buignigen*, with landes of great reuennewe. Hewas verie cunning, of great Spirite, and had his eyes addressd on all partes to gayne the heartes of many, and an exteriour reputation, which was mainteined and greatly augmented by his riches, his money, and most precious moueables, which he had brought thither, and which men brought vnto him day by day, as well out of the high, as lowe Countries of Flaunders, as it falleth out, that almost all men suffer themselves to be coufined with an appaurance, & magnificence of worldly things, rather the to be caried away with the vertue & truth of euery thing. Two things presaged vnto him his death, one of his houses which he had at Basle was smotte with lightning, and another sumptuously builded within his

pastures, was likewise burned with parte of his rarest and most exquisite moueables: shortly after the floure of the house wherein he lay, fell all downe at one blowe, and sodainly: yet nothing happened more grievous vnto him before his death, then the comming of a man of authoritie out of Base Almania to Basle. For from thenceforth as well aduised and forecasting, hee knewe that by little and little he should easily be discouered. His disciples were marueilously astonished at his death, for that he had assured them of his immortalitie, yet their hope was somewhat vpheld, because he had giuen them to vnderstande certayne dayes before, howe he should take life againe; by the space of three yeeres, and perfect most excellent things. Hee kept a porte within his house almost like a King, in like sorte was the gouernement of his house and castle very well ruled. Euerie man had his estate and office: their charges and duties being so distributed, as he should neede to employe no other therein then his owne. In gouerning their common wealth, they obserued verie straightly 3. things, thereby more and more to conceale their pernicious secte. First that none of them once published the name of *Dauid George*. Secondly that none reueyled of what condition hee had bene: whereupon it grew that many thought hee had bene yssued out of some great noble House, other that hee was some great Marchaunt, which had his factours abroad both by Sea and by land. Thirdly that they should not discouer so much as any one article of their doctrine to any man in Basle, nor so much as to a *Swizer*, nor should not endeouour to drawe any man vnto their doctrine: the summe whereof was.

The doctrine of *Dauid George* Heretique.

That whatsoever had bene heretofore giuen from God by *Moses*, by the Prophetes, by *Iesus Christ* himselfe, or by his Apostles, was imperfecte, and vprofitable for the obtaining of the true felicitie thereby: And was onely giuen for this vse, that vntill then it mighte re- presse men, as babes, and young children: and so contayne them within their office: But the doctrine of *Dauid George* was perfect, and had efficacie to make him happie which should receaue it, as being the true *Christ* and *Messias*, the welbeloued of the Father, in whom hee tooke his delight, not borne of fleshe, but of the holy Ghost and Spirit of *Iesus Christ*, ha- uing bene kept vntill that present in a place unknowen to all the Saintes, to restore in spirit the house of *Israel*, not by crosses or tribulations, or death as the other *Christ*, but by love & grace of the Spirit of *Christ*.

In the yeere 1559. the 5. of March, his children, his sonnes in lawe, and all them of his familie, with some other adhering to his Secte, were adiourned before the Senate of Basle, after information made of that pernicious secte, which he had al- wayes helde in his life time. The Attorney declared vnto them, howe the Seig- neurie stode duely informed, that they were retired to the Castle of *Buignien*, not as men persecuted for the Gospell, as they had falsly giuen out, but for the secte of *Dauid*, wherewith they had bene already infected. Eleuen were made prisoners to draw out the truth of the whole. The greater part examined by a more straight inquisition confessed the truth: who in the ende obtained pardon. Then the first day of May, the Ministers, Rectour, Professors, and Scholemaisters of Basle, hauing all with one voyce condemned the pointes of the doctrine, the Senate fully infor- med of the whole, proceeded the 13. of May to the conclusion of the proces, to wit,

That all his writings, as full of iniquitie, & mortall poison, Item his bodie, or his bones, and whatsoever should be founde more within his graue, should be burned, together with his

picture

picture which they founde in his house, representing him verie liuely: and that generally all the goodes of so wicked a man, wheresoeuer they were founde, should be confiscate and adjudged to the Seignurie.

This sentence was proclaimed according to the Custome of the place, and all the fourme of righte and ordinances of the Towne was kepte in the obseruation thereof. Before that I handle againe the rearmes of warre, betwene the Frenche and Spany- ardes, I will finishe, and in fewe wordes, the Empire, and managing of the affayres of *Charles* of Austria the fift, Emperour of the Almanes.

About the ende of August, *Charles* of Austria resolved to passe into Spayne for the occasions before rehearsed, wente from Bruxelles to Gaunt, the plaee of his na- tiuitie, where he assembled the 27. of that moneth, all the Embassadors one after an other, resiant about his Person, within his chamber, vsing in generall no other speech vnto them, but of the declaration of his old age & indisposition, praying the to per- fourme all good offices for the repose due vnto Christendome: Protecting to the *Nuncio* (that is the Popes Embassadour,) how all his life long, hee had loued and defended the holy apostolike Sea: & to the Venetian, how much hee honored that Seignurie & common wealth, whose libertie, & preservation he had all his life long desired, knowing howe much hee nourished, and mainteyned the repose of Italie. That his Sonne should followe him therein, hauing leste it as an expresse, nay te- stamentarie commaundement vnto him. To them of Ferrara and Maritoue hee spake in generall, but somewhat more particularly to the Florentine, charging him to write vnto his Maister, that he should neuer lende his care to any newe practi- ses against his house, nor passe nothing without aduertising of his Sonne, as hee had verie well done, vntill that present, and whereby he thought hee tooke no harme, as it appeared. Hereupon, the Embassadour, who was a Bishoppe, would haue dissuaded his departure, and shewed him, howe his most affectionate friendes were much astonied, considering especially that all reasons, and good discourse, were cleane contrary to such a resolution. And that in stead of goyng into Spayne, he were better drave vp into Italie, or at the least not abandon his Sonne, whome he mought assist with his good counsayle. To whom aunswearing, that he could not imagine an olde Prince, cuill disposed, and afflicted in all partes as he was, was able to doe as a young Prince, whome he leste so well instructed, and in so good a will to shewe himselfe great, and a man of warre if hee were vrged thereto: and that it should be well knowne, howe his absence should no whitte at all prejudice his friendes. The Bishoppe would haue replied vpon the affaires and greatnesse of this worlde, but he interrupted him, praying him to thinke, that his thoughtes were no longer entercommoners with the worlde, to which he badde farewell, and to him likewise, and so they departed. After hee was at Sail fise Leagues from Gaunte, where his Sonne gaue him the last adieu. Himselfe goyng downe the riu- er to embarque at Vlissing in Zelande, whither the Queenes *Allenor*, and *Marye* his Sisters followed him, vntill he was imbarqued. Then *Philip* made his retourne to Gaunte, where the multitude of affayres beganne to sollicite his brayne, especially in the expedition of them, in the remarke of humane actions, in the choise, and re- compence of his seruantes, whome hee chose and cherished, after another maner of fashion then his Father. But I must agayne handle the enterprise of the Frenche vpon Italie; in fauour of Pope *Iulye*, whose dissins and conducte the better to open vnto you, I am content to research the affayres of Piemont, where they passed some- what in a higher kinde.

The speech which *Charles* of Austria vsed to the Embassadors resiant about his person, when as he leste them to retourn into Spayne, there to finish his dayes.

Information, proceedings, & iudgements of the Seignurie of Basle, vpon the bodie and goodes of *Dauid George* and of the follo- wers of his faith and religion.

The means
which the King
used to make the
D. of Guise's
armie to passe
into Italy to the
succour of the
Pope.

To fauour the passage of the Duke of Guise's armie, the King had already commaunded the Marechal Brissac, who was but a little before come out of Piemont to the Courte, (where *de Termes* commaunded in his absence) to returne thither againe, and make ready another armie, the better to second the Dukes in Romaine, and assay to make some other exployts for the seruice of his Maiestie, with promise that he should not be farre gone on his journey before money should be sente him, as well to paye the olde bandes of Fraunce and Italye lying in Piemont, as to prepare the newe forces, which was conuenient he should adde thereunto. Not seeing for all that, the effecte of the prouision of the sayde money to followe, which was promised vnto him for the men of warre, pioners, horse to drawe the artillerie, building of bridges vpon boates, munitions of victualles, and other things necessary to the following of an armie, he made many dispatches and instances vnto his Maiestie, and the Conestable, who as then had the Superintendence of all the affaires of the Realme, but hee could onely obtayne a slowe and no compleate prouision: and lesse to perforce any aduancement of honour to any Captaynes of marke as their seruices deserued. Notwithstanding about the ende of December, 1556. the Marechal made an other recharge to the same ende, and likewise gaue his Maiestie to vnderstande of the resolution taken betwene the Duke of Guise and him, vpon the breach of the Truce, and passage of the armie into Italye: which breach began vpon the enterpryse, as they fantasied vnto themselves, of the towne of Valence within the Duchie of Milan, hauing after many deliberations found this enterpryse most fitte and commodious for the more easie passage of the Dukes armie. The armie being ready in the moneth of Ianuarie, albeit it was not succoured with the assignations promised, yet not to suffer it for default thereof to lye still, the Marechal borrowed vpon his owne credite, many grosse summes, and especially of the Duke of Guise. Yet all was so little to the price of that which was due, as they had much adoe to drawe the olde Italian bandes out of their garrisons, or any of the new french Companies. Which made the armie more weake then it would haue bene. As the Secretarie *Bonnin* declared, who as well for the effecte, as the reasons abovesayde, was expressly dispatched: chiefly likewise to giue his Maiestie to vnderstande, he w to the ende the platte countie of Piemont, mought not be leste in praye to the garrisons of Aste, Valserniere, Fossan, and Coni, whiles the forces of the Countie were so farre esloigned off, it was thought fitte to make a Leuie of 3000. foote, and 200. light horse, which should lye disperfed about the Imperiall garrisons, and the money for their payment leuyed vpon the Countie. Whereto those which were chosen made great difficultie to consente, yet all was well executed in the ende. And the 14. of Februarie, *S. Foij* had the charge giuen vnto him of 5. Companies of Piemont, and 100. light horse, and the rest of the said Leuies, were from hand to hand distributed rounde about these Garrisons. The which caused great suertie, commoditie and succour to his Maiesties affaires. Then according to the resolution taken vpon the breach of Truce, the two armies marched towards Valence, which they assailed the 12. day of Ianuarie. So as after the Batterie had bene layed vnto it, the 14. of that moneth, the Gouverneur rendred it vp, vpon the occasions before sayde. This done, they helde a Counsell to aduise, vpon what should be necessarye as well for the passage of the D. of Guise, as the rest of the affaires concerning the King's seruice. To whome among other particulars it was proposed by the Marechal, that his Maiesties intente being to succour the Pope, it was best to bethinke of the propiety and most easiest means to execute his Commaundement, and increase his authoritie in

The breach of
Truce begun by
the assailing of
Valence in the
Duchie of Milan

The order which
the Marechal
Brissac gaue in
Piemont.

in Italie. Which as then was verie easie, the enemies and especially the Inhabitanes of Milan being in such fright and feare, as standing very tickle within the Towne, which was abandoned by a great number of men, seeing the greater parte without any Fortresse, it was very easie for the Duke taking that way, to enter in: Iointe that there were no forces to hinder him, or which durst oppose themselves against him. That being Maister of the Towne, he should be consequently of the whole Estate, hauing power to commaunde there with such authoritie, as in fewe dayes he should haue means to finishe what remained therein to be fortified with earth and faggots, to cutte off and couer the saide Towne from the Castle. To fauour which enterpryse, and occasion more businesse vnto the enemies, the Marechal offered to goe besiege some little towne there, if he founde any facilitie at all to essay with, the Artillerie to carrie it away, and that in the meane time *Saluoisin* Gouverneur of Casal, should goe at a day agreed vpon betwene the Generals attempte, with the souldiers of the Garrison, the execution of the enterpryse which he had vpon the Towne of Alexandria, of the places of most importance of the state of Milan. Whereof there could be no other then a good yssue bee expected, as well by the intelligence which one gaue from thence vnto the Counsell, & whom the Capitaine *Saluoisin* Secretarie expressly went to fetch for that purpose, as that *Saluoisin* had him selfe taken a view of the place. And to the ende that *Saluoisin* mought the better keepe it being taken, the Marechal promised to comethither on the morrowe after the execution thereof with his whole armie: as well to assist *Saluoisin*, as to prouide for whatloeuer should be necessarye for the assurance, and conseruation of the place, and that shortlie after he would marche to Milan, to giue order with the Duke of Guise for the getting of the Castle, and for such affaires as concerned the Kings seruice: and so to make the State assured vnto his Maiestie. Thorough the consideration whereof it was not to be doubted, but the Duke of Alua with the forces which hee had in Romaine, would leaue the Countie to come succour the rest of that Estate: as a matter of greater importance vnto his Maister, then the quarrell of the Pope. Who notwithstanding should be by this means haue the succours which he desired, without hazzarding an armie in such daungers as mought fall out in so long voyages, and to which all such as haue heretofore passed thorow Italie in fauour of the Popes, haue for the most parte bene subiecte. Thus should the will of his Maiestie be perfourmed, with the Conquest of an whole Estate, for which Warre had bene so long time made in the House of Fraunce. Furthermore the hope and appaurance which was there to gayne the whole, or at the least a great parte of the Seigneurie of Genes, yea by the inhabitanes owne good will, thorough the necessitie of Victualles, into which they were brought. Prouided that his Maiestie, to whome a dispatche for that ende should be sente, would commaunde the Gallies of Marceilles to scowre the Seas, and to keepe the Coast of Sicilie in subiection, to keepe the Genowaies from being that wayes any more succoured with Corne, then they should bee out of Piemont. And indeede the dearthe was there so great, for the small time which they were in the Duchie of Milan, and thorough the taking of Valence, as that a sacke of Corne was worth tenne Crownes. The propositions being at large debated of, were in the ende founde so good, and accompanied with so appaunt reasons, as the most parte of them which were of the Counsell, seeing the importance of such Estates, as those of Milan and of Genes, which made a way vnto his Maiestie to encrease his power and authoritie in Italie, Iointe the vncertaine and so variable occurrents, as mought

Enterprise of
Milan.

hat successe
the French
armies haue had in
Italie, especially
in the conquest
of the Realme of
Naples.

mought befall an Armie, in so long a voyage, and by such an enemy so readie and resolute, were of opinion, that they were to bee hearkened vnto, and that his Maiestie shoulde with all diligence be aduertised thereof. But the Duke of Guise hauing an other intent of greater importaunce, tolde them that hee had receyued Commaundement from the King to proceede onwarde and not to stay: An occasion that many haue since deprauid this his aduise, especially after the ende of his enterprise.

But *Lautrec* in the like accidente, conducting the Frenche armie, for the taking of Naples, after the deliuerie of *Frauncis* the first, allied with the Potentates of Italie, 1527. hauing taken the Towne of Bosco, Alexandria, Vigeneue, Paia, and other places, as it was deliberated in Counsell, whether they shoulde staye vpon the Conquest of Milan, (to which they which helde the Frenche partie besought him to employe his men, considering the resolution of them, and the fright of their enemies,) or passe forwardes, answered that hee had commaundement to seeke further, and that he was principally sent into Italie, for the deliuerie of Pope *Clement*.

True it is, that some thought *Lautrec* tooke this resolution, fearing least if they shoulde conquerre the Dutchie of Milan, the Venetians being confederate with the Frenche, woulde bee carelesse to succour the King in the Conqueste of Naples. And it is possible likewise that the King thought, it woulde be better for him that *Frauncis Sforze* mought not entirely recouer this Estate, to the ende that no power remayning vnto him to bee able to vndertake ought, hee mought the more easly obayne the deliuerance of his children, as yet the Emperours prisoners, by waye of accomde, which continually was treated of, about the Emperour, by the Embassadours of Fraunce, Englands, and Venice.

Thus then the D. of Guise resolved vpon his first aduise, caused a bridge of boates to be made at Bassignaue ouer the riuer Tauaro, where his armie seconded with the Mareschal *Brissac*, passed ouerto perforce the voyage of Italie. And to the ende that it mought bee done with more suretie, and that hee mought auoyde the meeting of the forces which the Marquesse of Pescara caused in all diligence to bee assembled, thereby to cutte him off from his passage, the Mareschal entered within Laumeline, with a countenance as though he would marche towards Milan: An occasion that the Marquesse turned bridle suddainely towards Milan, with the fewe forces which hee had, suffering the Duke of Guise freely to passe, and his armie, whither it liked him best.

Vpon whose Ariuall, the Duke of Alua, for wante of money, and to suffer the first furie of the Frenche to coole, leuyed his siege from Rome, and retired vpon the borders of the Kingdome of Naples, there to defende the Frontiers from the disfeins of the Frenche.

As for the Duke of Florence, he to keepe his dependances from waste, and spoile of the enemy, and likewise to get leysure to goe on with his Fortresses, lent his care to some alliance with the King. But fortified as he was, hee retyred within his Towne. In such sorte, as *Pierre Strossi* Mareschal of Fraunce, being departed one of the first, and enclosed himselfe within Rome, with a number of French and Italians, had alreadye vnder the fauour of the Dukes comming, combated, and taken certayne Fortes and Blockehouses, builded by the Imperiales rounde about the Towne, and vpon the Tiber: so as the Pope was before the arriuall of the Frenche, as it were, restored into full libertie, and Rome assured of her enemies.

I will

I will shewe you by and by what the Duke did as soone as he was approched vnto the capitall Citie of Italie, against the disfeins of his enemies, who prepared themselves to all euentures, and in sundrie places.

Nowe, albeit there was no talke of any warre in Fraunce, but onely by murmurs, and particular prefaces, more then any publique declarations, many presumed that the warre of Italie woulde giue a beginning to that of Fraunce, yet the brute being giuen out, howe the Arthois and Henaute Garrisons were reenforced to make a checke vpon some of the Frontiers, the Admirall Gouernour of Picardie, thinking to playe with the cunningest, meant to preuent them, and first of all, himselfe to breake the Truce in Picardie. In such sorte, as about the beginning of Ianuarie, 1557. hauing ambusht himselfe neare Douay, hee had entred in, in the night, while the most parte of the Garrison was droncke, with drinking and crying the king drinckes, had not an olde woman by her long and lowde crynges out, of Arme, Arme, the Frenche, giuen in the ende the Alarme thorough out, hauing soone ynough discovered some indiscreete persons among the formost of the French. But being returned to Laus in Arthois, and entered within, he suffered it to be so pilld, as the Imperiales for a long time reproached those cruelties to the Frenche: besides that they alleadged the taking thereof, among the first occasions of the breache of Truce.

You see then on this and that side, the Spanyarde and Frenche disposed to warre, seeking all meanes to ryne them selues more furiously then euer. Nowe for that the broyles in Piemont, as the first seeme to mee more remarkeable, Iointe that certaine monethes passed ouer in Fraunce, and the Countries bordering about, in the preparations of a future warre, without any other more notable effectes then a boue rehearsed, I will remember againe the Mareschal *Brissac*, to shewe you, howe hauing taken the Imperiales at vnawares, he pursued the poynte of his aduantages.

After the departure of the Duke of Guise and his armie, the Mareschal gaue himselfe to fortifie and munition Valence with all that was necessarie: abiding notwithstanding, a certaine time in Lomline, to holde the Generall of the Imperiales in suspence of his disfeins. And had vndertaken matters of greater importaunce, and money beene in his handes to contente his people, and furnishe out such thinges as were needefull for him. But for want thereof, resolved to retire himselfe, and keepe his aduantages, hee furnished Casal, Montcalue, Valence, and Santia, each of them with ten Enseignes of Fanterie, and some Cauallerie, against the enterprises of the Marquesse, whose Forces grewe greater to the diminution of the French, for the occasions aboute layde. And albeit that the want of money, and the cutting off alreadye made by the King of certaine Companies of Piemont, as well in nomber as in paye, were sufficient occasions to hinder the Estate of his affaires in that Countrey, he sente vnto the Mareschal notwithstanding about the ende of Februrie, that in any sorte soeuer, hee shoulde not meddle with the dead payes. And that euery moneth he shoulde send him an accounte, to the ende he mought assigne warrant for money to the Treasourer of the extraordinarie: without any whitte regarding howe nothing hauing bene sente for the artillerie carriages, Pioners, munitions, commissaries, and matters vnlooked for, the Mareschal saide hee was fayne to helpe himselfe with those dead payes. So as founding vpon such defaults the smal aduancement which he made in Piemont, & seeing how he preached to a deafe eare, hee besought but in vaine his Maiestie, about the moeth of May, to sende some Gentleman

Warre Legunee
in Fraunce
gaue the Truce.

The Admirall
breake the
Truce in
Fraunce.

Gentleman vnto him, to controule his actions, to the ende that no euill might bee presumed of him. This notwithstanding, albeit that hee durste not muster his armie, for feare of mutinies, thorough wante of paye, and that he was resolu'd not to remayne ydle, hee employed his credite to recouer a summe of money, to make a loane vnto the companies of Fanterie, attending the Kinges money. And hauing thus made them to goe into the fildes, hee ledde them, for the execution of the Counsell, to batter, and take in parley, the 22. of Aprill, Valserniere, notwithstanding the great and continuall raynes, all the while that the siege endured. A Towne which waisted all Piemont, and scowred the way from Ast, to Cony, Queras, and Emerast: and Queras being with the selfe same furie, besieged, battered, and suddenly assailed, was taken by force the 29. of Aprill, the fourth day of the siege. Whereupon to encrease this fire of good will, and make the poore souldier to liue, more vpon the expence of the enemye, then of the alie, the siege of Cony was resolu'd vpon and begonne in the same moneth. Whether the K. sent money, which very little exceeded the only pay of the Zwizers. The Marechall notwithstanding appointed mustars to be taken, of the French and Italian Fanterie. But as soone as the souldiers knewe, that they would giue but a crowne apiece to a man, and that by the handes of the Treasourer, the souldiers were not slacke to mutinie, and goe away in great Troupes, considering their long seruices, which had neuer beene acknowledged, and the newe fashion of paying them, by other mens hands then their Captaines: who shewing themselves no lesse griued, and resting the beholders of such insolencies, without stirring to punish any, they made the Marechal goe himselfe to procure them to returne backe, and assure them that the money should be deliuered vnto their Captaines, to distribute as they were accustomed. And albeit that so little money did not much content them, yet the siege was continued. In which the Marechall seeing that the batterie wrought no great effecte, and yet they which were besieged, shewed a countenance as if they would yeelde if they were lustily pursued, it was agreed that a myne should be made, right against the Batterie. Wherein they wrought long with daunger and difficultie notwithstanding. But in the ende being finished, well closed, and sealed vp, the fire put, and the assaulte giuen by the ruynes which it had lefte, the order established for the assaulte was so euill kepte, and besides the Souldiers wente so slackely to worke, as the Maister of the Campe being slayne, and a number of Gentlemen and Souldiers, who were the first which aduanced formost, being dead on the earth, and the rest beaten backe with the hurte of many gallaunt men, the euente shewed howe of an armie euill satisfied, full of Captaynes and Souldiers discontented and disobedient, no other successe ought to be hoped for then vnfortunate.

In the meane time the Marechall sente to declare vnto the King, together with the necessities of his armie, and the feare least all would turne to ruine for him, the instance which the Duke of Ferrara made, to cause the French armie to approche to the Dutchie of Milan, to the ende to helpe it with his forces and disfeins: and likewise the impossibilitie of being able to satisfie it, without paying at least the Fanterie.

Not long after, the Marechall hauing receyued newes, howe the Marquesse of Pescara was arriued at Fossan, with some forces in intention to approch neare Cony, to fauour them within, or assaye to compell the siege to be rayled, a Counsell was helde, and resolu'd to abandon Cony, to march right towards the Marquesse. But as soone as hee perceyued the Marechall to approche, he retired into Fossan,

to

to the which the Frenche still approached. By meanes whereof the Marquesse fearing to be enclosed there, consequently himselfe to reduce this place to extreame necessitie, he wrought so well, as with the whole Infanterie he gayned Cony: But from thence not knowing howe to returne, he was constrain'd to leade his men a trauerse the mountaines to gayne the Sea shoare, and saue his people as well as hee mought. The difficultie of the wayes notwithstanding was founde such, as he lost many of his people, and they which sau'd themselves, so wearie, and defeated, as it was not possible to bee more. As for his men at armes, and his Cauallerie, they remained still within Fossan. Therefore it was agreed, that waste should be made there round about. And further that Forces should be layed all alongest the passages and wayes, that none of the Cauallerie mought escape.

During the time that it was thus enclosed, many fayre feates, and notable skirmishes were vnderaken, and diuersly executed: Namely by the Vidame of Chartres, Colonell of the Fanterie of Piemont, *D'Anuille de Terrides*, and others, with so good watche kept all alongest the passages, as many Troupes of this Cauallerie, which was no lesse then betwene one thousande and twelue hundred horse, were entrapped and defeated. The Frenche in the meane space, entertayned the siege before Cony, and many Gentlemen and Captaynes trauayled, who should be marked to worke most to the damage of the besieged. Among the rest, woorde was sente vnto the King of the feates done by the Vidame, since the raising of the siege. Especially in the breaking vp of milles, which had bene repayed by them of the Towne, blocked with a number of Fortes, which marueilously annoy'd him. And likewise the happie enterprises achieued about Fossan, by *De Termes*, *Gonor*, *D'Anuille*, and other, who gaue so small rest to their Troupes of Cauallerie, especially their light horse, whose courings out were more ordinarie, & remarkable, as all thought they had yeilded occasions enough vnto his Maiestie, to be well and sufficiently requited, for so well performing of their duetie.

You shall see howe, and wherefore the meanes wanted vnto their Prince rather then the will, through the accidents, which lesse fortunate in other places of Fraunce then in Piemont, happened at the same time, to counterpease the Marechals good fortune by the disgrace of his Conestable, as I will make you to perceyue, if you well and diligently marke all the notable particularities, which I will deduce vpon such and so important an occurrence. For it is lesse then nothing to knowe the inconuenience of the iourney of Saint Quentins: That is knowne as well to fooles as wise men, younge, and olde, men and women, homebirdes and straungers, friendes & enemies. But to applie it to ones profite, to the suretie, and aduancement of the State, one must vnderstande the beginning and true motiue: diligently, and with affection marke the meanes as well forced as voluntarie, by which this disfaour happened: then note the effectes of them, and in the ende consider the good and the badde, which hath ensued vnto Fraunce, and the Countreyes aboute, vnder the obedience of these two Princes. This is called to reason of, and to reade Histories as it appertayneth. The which I will doe, hauing represented vnto you the departure of the Duke of Guise, and his Armie in Italie.

From Plaisantin the Duke of Guise went to Regge, a Towne which appertained to the D. of Ferrara his father in law, who mette him at Pont de Leuz, & all in company, with the Cardinall *Caraffe*, sente thither by the Pope entered within Regge, where they consulted of the disfein, meanes, & conduct of this warre. Some would

T. 1.

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have gone into Lombardie to attempt the getting of Cremona and Pauia, whilst that *Brissac* dyd his dutie vpon that side of Nouarre and Valence. Other who considered that in so dooing they should giue leasure to the Duke of Alua to fortifie himselfe, and to make a leaue of men, as well within the kingdome of Naples as Tuscane, without forcing for all that, any one of those Townes furnished with all things necessarie, were of opinion that they should rush vpon Tuscane to deliuer Siene out of the Florentines and Spaniards handes. The Cardinall *Caraffe* founde it most advantageous to assaile the kingdome of Naples, by the March of Ancone (the territoire of the ancient Picentines) saying that on that side of Terre de Labour, hee might conquere as much of the Countrey as seemed good vnto him. But the Duke of Ferrara maintained, that the Duke of Guise being come for the cause of his holynesse, he ought likewise to go straight on to Rome, and employ himselfe to the defence of the Pope. And that afterwards the rest should bee thought of. That in the meane time hee would keepe himselfe with his forces in his owne Countreies, forasmuch as he trusted not the Duke of Parma his neighbour, hauing entered into league with king *Philip*: and that he feared besides least the Florentine would make roades into his lands, if hee esloigned himselfe. So as according to this aduise the Duke of Guise marched with *Caraffe* towards Bologne, and the Duke of Ferrara leauing the Prince *Alphonse* his sonne for his lieutenant, went to Venise to aunswere the Embassadour of Spaine, who made there grievous complaints against him, blaming the Pope, and King *Henrie* to make warre vniuersally against his Maister, and to breake the truce so necessarie to Christendome: beseeching the Seigneturie to make warre against the Ferrarois, and to enter into league with the Catholique King. Now as the Duke of Ferrara sojourned at Venise, the Marquesse of Pescara sealed vpon the Towne of Corregge, whence sprang the first beginning of the war in the Countrey of Ferrara. An occasion, that the Duke leauing Venise returned into his owne lands, to fortifie Modene, Carpi, and other places of his Seigneturie: whilst that the Duke of Guise at Bologne, complayned to the Popes ministers, howe he sawe no such preparation of warre, as had bene promised vnto the King. But they contented him, when they tolde him that there were tenn thousand men in the March d'Ancone. And hauing passed by Imole, Rauenne, Faenze, & Cesene, he came to Rimini, where he viewed, and mustered his Troupes, which he found to amount vnto fise thousande Swizers, other which the Marquesse d'Albauf his brother commaunded: foure thousand Grisons, seauen thousand French, and Gascoignes, some Italians, fise hundred and fiftie men at armes, and fiteene hundred light horse.ouer the Fanterie commaunded the Duke of Neuers. *Cipierre* was Maister of the Campe. *Tauannes*, and *La Motte Goudin*, were Marechalles of the Campe. On the other side the Marechall *Brissac* coming out with his Forces into the felde, caused Valle-Feniere to bee besieged, a strong place situate betweene Ast, and Carmignolle, which he enforced to yeld by composition, for the want of victuals which the Spanyardes had that helde it: afterwards it was ruyned topsie turuie. This done, hee made Chiauasse to be assailed, a Castle situate in a high place, and bordering vpon Vlpian, which hee carried away, albeit it was furnished with all things necessarie, and there he put in a strong Garrison to keepe it. While these thinges were a doing, the Duke of Alua caused his Armie to turne head, as though hee meante to goe to the Kingdome of Naples to defende it, imagining that the Duke of Guise would marche thither. Then hee furnished, & fortified the townes of Arbuzze, a countreie neighbouring to the march

D. of Ferrara at
Venise and why

Corregge taken
by the Spaniards
vpon the D. of
Ferrara.

The French army
in Italie.

D. of Alua in the
Kingdome of
Naples.

of Acone, and in the meane space the Duke of Guise tooke Campilio, and besieged Ciuitelle, situate vpon the Tiber on Tuscane side, mounted vpon a high hillocke, hauing a rocke for the foundation of the wals, and of a most harde accessse vnto it. So as nature seruing it for a rampire, it seemed almost impregnable, thorough the greates steepes of her most deepe valleyes, all alongest which runneth the riuer Viperate. An occasion that it laie not in the power of the French to inforce it, but they were fayne to leaue the siege after they had lost many good souldyers and valiant men. Lykewise little dyd the Marshall of Brissac gayne at the same time by the siege of Conie: For albeit that he had battered day and night this place appertayning to the Duke of Sauoy, yet hee was faine to leaue it in the end, for the succour which the Marquesse of Pescara had brought thither. Now albeit the Duke of Guise aduantaged lytle before Ciuitelle, the Duke of Alua notwithstanding came to leaue the siege. So as hauing sent certaine troupes vnder the charge of *Garfe de Toledo*, and Countrey de *Pe-poly*, to see what countenance the French made, they were so roughly reencountered, as *Garfe* being defeated, and his troupes put in rout, *Rierre Henriques* master of the Duke of Alua his campe, was there taken, and almost all the Spaniardes cut in peeces, by the Vidame of Chartres, *Tauannes*, *Cipierre*, and others. Afterwards the French being constrained to leaue the place for the reasons abouesayde, were drawn to Mont-fort by the inhabitants, who saying they were not able to supporte the insolencie of the Spaniardes, would not bee reduced vnder the obedience of the Pope. But they could not yelde the towne, which was the cause that the Duke de Palliane hauing battered it and scaled it, carried it away by assault. The Spaniardes being retrayed by another place of the Towne, and so the Citizens bare their penance, being well pilled, theyr towne burned, and halfe ruined. Afterwards the Duke of Palliane, and the Marshall *Sirozzie* ioyned both theyr forces with the Duke of Guises. Who seeing that what the Popes Legates and Nuncios promised vnto the King, was but winde without effect, and that there was no meanes to increase his forces in Italie, as the Duke of Alua dyd his ordinarily: hee wrote vnto the King, giuing him to vnderstand, that wythout newe succours it was vnpossible for him to aduance his desseine, considering his enemyes forces, and the small fauour which hee founde in those quarters. Some haue left in writing, that that which moued the Duke of Guise to write in that manner vnto the King, was for that he was aduertied, how *Codognac* the kings Embassador at Constantinople, was dismissed of his charge, and *La Vigne* put into his place. And as hee attended one hundred Turkish Gallies which were promised by *Soliman* to *Codognac* for his succours, hee receyued intelligence how the Turke had chaunged his mind, through some too high words vttered by *La Vigne*. Others saie that it was thorough the practise of some French men, enemies to *La Vigne*. In such sorte as the Kings seruice was thus retarded in Italie, for occasions light inough. *Naiakis* Countrey of Nuouolare, confessed that the Turke would not stirre one whit in this businesse for the king in Italy, for that hee sawe no profite redound to himselfe. Ioynt that hee doubted least the Christians agreeing together would seeke to diminish his forces, and afterwards make some attempt agaynst him. And in deede those which were in Corse at such time as *Dragut-Rais* brought thither the Turkes succours, knowe that when the French besieged Calui, as the Turkes had demanded the first point of the assaulte, seeing themselves cruelly and bloudily cut in peeces, they beganne to suspect and mistruste the Christians, to see howe the Spaniardes and the Frenchmen made

Ciuitelle rescued
from the
French.

warre the more gently one vpon another. And *Iorden Vrsin* had enough to do to content them, and to pul out that hard impressiō which they had conceiued against the French.

The Duke of Guise in summe, seeing howe on all partes the effectes fayled of so rich promisses as had beene made vnto his master, and confirmed vnto him since his comming into Italy. Ioynt that the forces of the Spanish Duke beganne to growe greater, and increase in courage, by the aduertisement which they had of the necessities of the French; before that his owne were too much diminished, and the aduantage too euidently turned elswhere, resolved to put it to the hazarde of one daie. Therefore seeing himselfe neere enough vnto the Duke of Alua his campe, he presented battell vnto him betweene Fermie and Alcoye. To which the Spaniarde would not hearken: Were it that hee found himselfe too weake, or that he thought by delaie hee might better serue his tume. In the meane time King *Phillip* had no sooner made the aduantage of his armie to appeare in Picardie, but the King sent to the Duke of Guise, that hee should retire home. Who seeing that all the burthen of the warre lighted on the Kings armes, and that it was so farre of from the Popes furnishing of twentie thousand men, as hee had promised, that hee was not able to paie sixe thousand, nor disburse the fourth parte of the charge of the armie. Ioynte that the Ferrarois were so farre from succouring the Pope or the King, as the Duke of Guise was faine to ayde him with some of his men, fearing besides least the Pope would make a peace wythout comprehending the King therein, concluded to returne into France. But the Pope fearing to bee lefte alone, and least hee should be afterwarde compelled to accord at the will and discretion of the Spaniard, swaie vnto him that hee would neuer agree wythout the Kinges aduise and consent thereto: and how for the better assurance thereof hee would sende his sonne the Duke of Palliane, as hostage into Fraunce. So as this so large an offer retayned the French longer, during whole vaine aboad there happened the defeat of Saint Quentin in Permandois. Whith beeing known at Rome, so greatly astonied the Pope, as seeing himselfe out of all hope to haue anie further succour out of Fraunce, hee resolved to followe the counsell of sundrie Cardinales, which verie earnestly solicited him to make a peace with the Spaniarde. Who in the meane time determined to plant agayne the siege before Rome: not that hee was in anie hope to take it, but onely to inforce the Pope to a peace, which hee knew was greatly desired by the Catholike king. But the Duke of Guise vnderstanding this desseine, and the effects thereof, fayled not to approach vnto Tiuoli, a place scituated vpon the Teyron, to front the enemye, and to inforce him to leaue his siege. The which was the cause that by all the meanes they possible coude, they hastned the treatie of the peace sought by the Venetians, and the Duke of Florence. The Pope sending on the eight of September in his name, the Cardinales *Carlo Caraffe*, *Saint Fior*, and *Vistolce*, with some Romane Lordes towards the Duke of Alua, who as then laic at Canie, a place scituated in the Romane Countrie, neere to Pilastrine, to conferre of the whole.

Peace negotiated,
and by whom.

Betweene whome it was concluded and agreed, that the Duke of Alua and the Cardinall *Caraffe* would resolve thereof together at Benefian, which is not farre from them: hauing each of them ample power and commission from theyr master, to determine and conclude of all thinges, according as the Popes Letters carryed for the Cardinall *Caraffe*, dated the eighth daie of September, 1557. at Rome: and

and king *Phillip*, for *Don Ferdinando Aluarez de Toledo*, Duke of Alua, dated the five and twentieth of Iuly. In summe, the peace was concluded betwene the Pope and the Spaniard, and such were the Articles: That the Duke of Alua dooing all kinde of obeyances due, and submissions in the name of the king of Spaine his master, should beseech pardon of the Popes holynesse: That hee should receiue him as his good and obedient sonne, participating vnto him such graces as were common to other. That king *Phillip* should doo the lyke, by an Embassadour expressly sent from him to Rome: That the Pope as a mercifull and debonarie Father, should receiue the Catholique king as his sonne, and giue vnto him all such graces as hee was wont to doo, and accorde to other Christian kings: That his holynesse should renounce the league with the French king, and declare himselfe a father to the one and the other of both the kinges, wythout anie one more than the other: That the Catholique King should render vp all the townes, places, castles, and fortresses, beeing of the domaine of the Church, which had bene taken since the ouerture of this warre. Hee should make bee builded agayne and repayed, all such as had bene ruined and dismembred by the Spaniardes: That all the artillerie taken on the one side or the other, in what sorte soeuer, should be restored agayne into the handes of his auncient possessor: That they should forget all such executions as had ben done by iustice during this warre, were it by death or bannishment: and all confiscations of what persons whatsoever, wythout anie mannes researching after into them. As also all such as thorough this dissention were driuen out of theyr landes, goods, and dignities, should be restored into theyr good renowne, goods, honours, states, and dignities, right actions, and Seignouries. Provided that they had lost these thinges by meanes of this warre, to the ende this peace might not bee auailable to *Marke Anthonie Colone*, nor to *Afcaigne de la Corne*, but that they should remayne outlawed, at the will and discretion of the holy Father. That the Duchie of Palliane should bee put in such estate as it was then, by the consent and good liking of both parties, into the hands of *Iean Barnardin Carbon*, which was the sequester, who should sweare to the Pope and the Catholique King, to keepe faith to both parties, and obserue the articles and agreements made and accorded betwene the Duke of Alua and the Cardinall *Caraffe*. Which *Carbon* was to haue the keeping of the Towne of Palliane, hauing vnder him eight hundred souldyers, payed by the Pope and the Catholique king.

These Articles were sworne to in the name of the sayde Princes, the Pope, and king *Phillip*, by the Cardinall *Caraffe* and the Duke of Alua, according to the Commission and faculties giuen vnto them, swearing by the soules of theyr Princes, to obserue all the whole without fraude, cauelling, or anie exception whatsoever: adding a truce for a certayn time, contayning passport and safeconduet to the Duke of Guise, and to all the Captaines and souldyers of the king of France, to departe out of Italie, and the Countries appertayning vnto king *Phillip*, as well by sea as by land. Afterwarde they signed and sealed the whole in the presence of the Cardinals of *S. Flour*, and *Vielle*, who lykewise signed the present Treatie. And forsomuch as it was not set downe therein to whome *Pallian* should appertaine, since that the sequester kept it in the name of both the princes contracting, there were secrete articles agreed vpon betwene the Cardinall *Caraffe* and the Duke of Alua. In which it was contained, how that it should remaine at the will and discretion of the catholike king, either to ruine or leaue that place in her entire, without being lawful for him to repair

Articles of peace
betwene the Pope
and the Spaniard.

or for the it, vntill the sayd Lord King had giuen some place of like value and reue-
new to the Popes sonne for recompence. And anie difference falling out vpon that
exchange, the Senate of Venice shoulde giue iudgement thereof, without either the
one or the other parties refusing to obey what shuld be ordayned by that Seignorie.
And the recompence being once made by king *Phillip*, hee might then bestowe the
place of Palian vpon whom it liked him best, sauing anie such as were an enemy to
the Church of Rome. And that he which shoulde haue Palian in sequestration, shoulde
bee bound to depart so soone as the place were dismembred. Such was the issue of
the affaires of Italie, and of the armie which the King sent for the Popes succour, the
which was followed with a strange overflowing inundation of Tiber, as I will cause
you to see elswhere.

Now that each partie had of a long time turned his desseignes to the warre, coue-
red notwithstanding by the conclusion of this truce, yet had the Spanish Councell
much better and from longer hande provided for the preparatiues and inconuenien-
ces thereof. For *Phillip* put as soone an armie agaynst that of Italie (by which he drew
out of the realme, the flower of the nobilitie, and the most renowned Captaines and
souldiers which were there) the most accomplished and best furnished with all neces-
saries of anie that had bene seene of long time. To the end hee would not faile to let
forward his first fortune, which he meant to proue in the view of all the potentates of
Europe, especially of the French, in whome hee meant to ingraue by the beginning
of his enterprises such a dread of his forces & means, as that for euer after they shoulde
bee more stayed, and lesse stirring agaynst him, than they had bene agaynst anie of his
ancestors. *Henrie* on the contrary (as the French is neuer aduised but vpon the blow)
providing onely for his armie which marched to affranchise the Pope from his ene-
mies, (to whom succours was almost as soone promised as demanded) hauing vnder-
stood but too late, through want of intelligencie the galliard preparatiues of *Phillip*,
found himselfe no lesse astonied to see he was taken at a life, than perplexed through
the difficultie, whereof reporte was made vnto him, of finding finances to leuie, con-
duct, furnish, and imploy so grosse an armie withall. Which to hinder the enterie and
lacke of his realme to so puissant a neighbour and ancient enemy, was a matter neces-
sarie for the richest and poorest Prince of Christendome, (thorough the abundance,
and yet euill husbanding of his meanes) in making readie the preparatiues, whereof
hee knew a great deale better the difficulties which presented themselves to the exe-
cutions of his haughtie desseignes, by the complaints which all the estates of his
Realme made to bee refounded on all partes, as soone as the bruit of another warre
refreshed their memorie wyth remembrance of so many sorrowes passed.

Two houses at this time possessed king *Henrie* more than anie other of his realme,
that of Guise and Monmorencie, both of them recommended for the antiquitie, va-
lour, and renowne of their races, vertuously imployed to the profite and honour of
the crowne of France. But that being the greater, better allied, richer, and of more re-
nowne throughout all Christendome, woulde not acknowledge the Monmorencie
an equall to it selfe, sating in the fauor of the Prince, whose grace towards the Con-
stable mounted so farre, as that hee would conceale nothing from him, doo all things
by his aduise, and vouchsafe him sometimes to bee his bedfellow, the honour and re-
spect being kept still such as hee ought. So as being set in authoritie, thorough the
credite and exceeding vertue, as well of his foure sonnes, as of his three nephewes of
Chastillon, and other his kinsmen, who bare honorable offices, all of them within the
realme,

realme, hee seemed to haue no need of desiring the increase of ought, but only a con-
tinuance of his greatnesse, provided that no disaster did crosse the course of so happie
a pursuit. Those of Guise no lesse supported by the merite of their owne valour, and
put in authoritie thorough the ancient renowne of so many princes, issued out of the
house of Lorraine, sought to make themselves greatest in the kings fauour, by a farre
greater number of signall seruices with *Charles* and *Frances* of Guise, might doo to the
flower de Luce. So as, as well to continue their owne dutie, as their auncestours and
fathers, they had vnderaken the voyage of Italie, to the end to deliuer Pope *Iulie* out
of the Spaniards handes, and if promise shoulde bee kept with them, to imploy them
selves to the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, hoping by that means much more
to extoll the kings power & credit among forrain nations. *Charles* and *De Guise* Cardi-
nals remaining onely behinde in Court to entertaine the king to the conduct of such
a desseine. Which lyke wise was greatly fauoured by *Diane de Poitiers*, sole heire to *S.
Valier*, Duke of Valentinois, who to imploy thereto that part of his credit, which her
beautie, comely carriage, and quicknesse of spirite (graces hatefull inough to the ver-
tuous *Katherine de Medicis* Queene of France) had gained vnto her of the king, had gi-
uen one of her daughters in marriage to *De Guise* Earle of *Aumale*, who accompa-
nyed the Duke his brother into Italie. Now as all greatnesse standeth accompanied with
the passions of the Court, vpon the preparatiues which king *Phillip* made dayly, to be
reuenged of the losses aboutesayd, men began to shew vnto the king the damage and
dishonour, which thorough the absence of his forces, the breach of truce so solemnly
sworne would bring vnto him: how the Duke of Guise had spent one hundred and
three score thousand crownes a moneth, without hauing done ought elsse than seene
Cimitelle, a frontire towne of Naples the small, or rather no aduantage at all, which hee
had receiued by the breach thereof. How that the king of Spaine being well settled in
his quarters within Italie, had assembled together such forces, as it was an easie matter
for him to aduance the ruine of France, if hee should enter in agaynst so few people as
were to present themselves vnto him, in the ranke of whome, notwithstanding the
Constable humbly besought his maiestie to place him, that hee might imploye there
in, together with his owne meanes, the lyfe of himselfe, his kinsmen, friends, and such
other as would follow him in such an enterpryse, as much perforced and vncommo-
dious as it was. The king greatly bewailed such an accident: but as hee was one of the
best princes and most ealie to bee managed, as France euer sawe, hee dyd not greatly
torment himselfe, thorough the hope which the Cardinall of Lorraine and the Dut-
ches of Valentinois had giuen vnto him. How the whole matter could not but receiue
an happie issue, and how that the Constable, chiefe of armes, might assemble monie
nough to make head to the Spaniard, if it would please his maiestie but to sende him
towards the frontiers, there to make readie the camp. The which hee was comma-
ded to doo. So as hee departed from Compeigne, (where the king as then laie go-
uerned by those of Guise) with speed inough to goe to *Nostre dame de Liesse*, there
to receiue his troupes together, which shoulde bee sent vnto him out of all partes. In
the meane time they studied vpon all meanes (the kings treasure being already drawen
drie) how to procure monie for the entertaining of such an armie, in which ap-
peared great difficulties, accompanied with grieuous complaints in many places. In
summe, besides the great and ordinarie imposts which were leuied vpon the people,
new taxes and particular loanes were put vpon them, with surcharges so excessive, as
they grew intollerable vpon the third estate, which the continuance of the warres had
already eaten almost to the bare bones. The ministers and beneficed men of the
Church

The desseines &
old preparatiues
of king *Phillip*.

Desseignes and
preparatiues of
king *Henrie*.

Church, albeit they alleadged how that they were exempt, & priuiledged from such charges, were neuer a whit spared, but seized according to their tenths, to the utmost value of the reuerue of their Benefices. The Nobilitie but euen freshly returned from the warres passed, with a hope of a good repose, to helpe vp themselves againe, sentle order in their houses, and establish their reuenues to come, was agayne called, as wel to appeare in the Rirebandes, as to inroll themselves in the kinges ordinances, who dispatched commissions to leaue new companies, and to fyll vp the olde. The *Ringrane* bringing vnto him one thousand Pistolliers, and eight hundred Lansknets, came to ioyne with his forces. In the meane space to prevent the first descencs of his enemy, to fauour the aduancement of the fortifications vpon the frontiers, and whilst that the armie was making readie, at the end of Ianuarie, 1557, the rest of the men at armes of France, were sent as the most ready force which the king had, to be diuided among the most dangerous frontiers, especially in Campagne. For that the imperials ordinarily made theyr descent most that waies, and to fauor the fortification of Rocroy, which serued as a counterfort and support to Marimbouurg and Maubert Fontaine. Fortifying in lyke sorte, and munitioning the rest of the places vpon the frontire, they repayed vp agayne the platforme and pan of the wall behinde the castle of Mezieres, which was much fallen downe. The spring notwithstanding and most part of the Summer passed ouer, without anie matter worthie of memorie, sauing the attempt of certaine of the garrisons vpon Roc Roy, which I wil shew vnto you. After hauing represented the place to the naturall. It is a barren soile more than two leagues round about it, where you can see nothing but high woods, standing water, and marshes, especially in the wast & vnmanured places groweth nothing but briers, thorns, broome, and heath, for that the molde there of is clay: the plains & bottomes all moorish where the fort standeth. The rest of the places are hard and sharpe rocks, without anie moiture or bearing of fruit, sauing catmint and mosse, which maketh it faine vnto the incamping of an armie, by meanes of the feate and barrennes of the place. The fort hath five frontes, which they tearme in forme of *Pantagone*, couered and defended with four great bulwarkes, garnished with their flankers, Cazamates, & platformes: then the old fort which serueth for the fift, each carrying his particular name, so great and spacious, that euerie one may lodge two thousand souldiers, and a greate deale of artillery. A matter verie commodious for the retrenches and rampires against the enemy.

Roc Roy and his
representation.

Moreover, the defences there are so surely couered, and without anie danger of batterie, that it is verie vncasie to take them awaie: ioynt that the beeles and shoulders thereof are so large and thicke, that they couer a great part of the Courtines. And for the better enduring of the rampire, the turfe and the earth is so claie and slammie, as if it soake in neuer so litle water, it stiffneth and hardneth inough of it selfe. Therefore the fourth of Aprill the imperiall garrisons being assembled together, marched so secretly to breake downe the banke, which as yet was reared but two foot high, as thinking that the most part of the souldiers would fallie out vpon their curriers, with resolution to cut off theyr waie, and so hew them in peeces. Then (together with such as fled to enter pisse melle within the forte) they sawe the souldiers euen and anone falling out file a file to the skirmish, against the first, as the indiscreet heat of the French doth alwayes carrie. But the whole companie comming vpon them to cut off their retreat, the rest which were within the forte in armes, to make the view and deale the last, issued forth so readily, and with such resolute charges, as the other were constrained to drawe backe and retye themselves in the end, to defend themselves from the

number

number of Cannon shot which played vpon them without ceasing.

Passing ouer thus some time in these light attempts, the seuenth of Iune the Queen of England sent an Heralde of armes to proclaime warre vnto the king, who, the king hauing made it bee declared vnto him by the Constable, how graciously hee vsed him, in respect of the punishment which hee deserued, in that he had passed thorough his realme without safe conduct, was curteously sent backe with presents, and his answer: which was, how hee accepted of the defiance, in hope to make her know, that without anie occasion at all shee had offered this vnto him, considering the good offices which had passed as well from himselfe as his auncestours towards her and her nation.

Likewise it was sufficiently inough apparant, how that shee had bene as it were importuned heereunto by her husband, in respect of the diuisions and partialities of that Realme, as well betweene the English and the Spaniards, as among the English themselves. The most parte imagining howe that they new king, diminishing their forces and meanes by such warres, would seeke the more easily to make himselfe master of their fortresses, and vsurpe the superintendence, which he so much longed after, to manage all things at his owne will and pleasure. You shall else-where see what ensued heereupon. In Iuly the Prince of Piemont, *Almore* Earle of Eguemond, the Duke of Ascor, and others, prepared an armie at Giuers, curious to performe the matter better than they dyd at the first attempt. Which they had assembled together for to haue surprised Rocroy, at the verie first pulsh. But their vant curriers were so lustily set vpon by those which issued out to the skirmish, as the grosse comming to asist and support them after a long meley of hot buckling together, and infinite Cannon shot which rained among them, was constraind in the end to leaue a great number of theyr dead behinde in the field, whilst they turned vpon the frontire of Picardie, as if they had meant to haue attempted vpon Guise, before which the whole imperi-
all armie laie of thirtie five thousand men, and twelue thousand horse, tarrying for eight thousand Englishmen: who landing at Calis and in the Countie Doye, was to ioyne wyth them at Saint Quentines. King *Henrie* his armie assembled it selfe at the same time at Atynic. But as theyr foresight was not so great as the Spanish, no more was theyr number, nor theyr meanes found to be alike. There might be about eighteene thousand fantasins of Almanes and French, five or sixe thousand horse, of light men at armes, as well French as Almaine, coasting alwaies notwithstanding the imperials within foure or five leagues following, the Countie of Tiersche, resolved to close themselves within Pierre Ponte, a place very commodious to ouerrun the whol frontire, and there to distribute succours among the garrisons, with suretie of those troupes which should keepe the field.

The aduantage which grew vnto the imperials thorough their long foresight, hauing brought forth vnto them so strong an armie, and the variable and diligent dis-
march of theyr troupes, caused that the French being insolent, and contemning the enemyes forces, (against whome ordinarily they esteemed it inough to prepare themselves vpon the blow and intelligence which presented it selfe) did in no sorte prouide to withstand the enterprise of *Phillip*, and being at the verie pinch vncertaine of his intent, they were not able to iudge by the deportments of his armie to what place he meant, whereby they might furnish it as were necessarie. So as first the Kinges counsell, and afterwards the Constables, being diuided into two partes, some thought that the Prince of Piemont would vndertake nought else, and turned to no other end than to make an honorable retreat. For that not hauing bene able to assemble his ar-
mie

The aduantages
which the Span-
iards & Flemings
had ouer the
French.

mie together so soone as he imagined, through the distance of so many diuers countries, as he was to drawe his men out of, and other discomforts, the opportunitie was escaped him, far attempting any matter of great importunce. Especially for that he was repulsed from the Frontier of Champagne, whither they sayde his principall entente was. And albeit that other were of a contrarie opinion, assuring howe there was a certaine complotte, an assured Rende-vous, and a full foresight determined, whither he meant to turne his Forces, as vnto a matter which he helde alreadye halfe conquered, beeing well aduertised of such wante, as there, might be, so farre, as the Admirall did assure, (by intelligence receyued) the Constable his Vnckle, how that the Prince meant to haue a blow at Picardie, as a place very euill provided. Ioint that the Spanishe bandes which were within newe Hedin, (the best Troupes which they had) were not as yet dislodged: the Frenche, (as mens senses being disperfed doe lesse apprehende one of those things which they doe behold, then if they were all fixed vpon that alone) being curious to furnishe the whole, provided not sufficiently either for the armie, or any other of those places, whereby they might stay the enemye, who still enterayned them with his long delays, and irresolutions, thorough the vncertainetie of his dissein, vntill that the Prince, hauing made a showe, as though he would first encampe before Guise, then at Mariembourg, had enclosed rounde S. Quentins with his light Cauallerie. And at the same instant causing his whole armie to marche with extreame diligence, hee founde himselfe encamped rounde about it, before that euer he could be thought to haue bene halfe way. The suddainesse wherof made the whole Campe to doubt least the place would be taken by surprise, as well for wante of men, as other prouisions and fortifications within the Towne, which had but the Captaine *Brueil* for gouernour, and *Telligny*, Lieutenant to the Dauphin, of a Companie of one hundred men at armes: the better parte of whome were therein Garrison, at which the Inhabitauntes grew so greatly discontented, considering as they alleadged, that their priuiledges did exempte the from them, as whatsoeuer ensued thereupon, was rather attributed to their owne faulte then to any others. The Admirall, being commaunded by the Constable, to get into the Towne with as many men as hee should be able, vnder a hope of being succoured by him: albeit that *Jarnac* and *Lasfarche* offered themselves to goe thither, and keepe him from aduenturing so great a danger, perswading him to employ himselfe somewhere else, where he should be able to doe the King more signall seruice, then to cast away himselfe there within, did so much notwithstanding, as with foure hundred & fiftie men, as well horse as foote, he entred in. Afterwardes hauing made the Rounde about the walles, encouraged the Inhabitauntes: whome he assembled together in the common Hall, visited the whole Towne thorough, overlooked the prouisions and munitions of warre, and giuen the quarters vnto Companies, he provided for all the rest the best which he was able. Now for that *Julian Romero*, and *Carondelet* Spanish Captaines had alreadye gayned the bulwarke of Fauxbourg d'Isle, where they had settled their Enseignes, notwithstanding any resistance which could be made. Iointe that it was without parapette, and the earth without as high as within, the Admirall yssued out to regayne it, and to burne the houses about. But the besieged were so euill receyued, and hottely pursued, as many returned hurte, counselling the Admirall to abandon that Fauxbourg, considering the small number of men which he had, and the two passages to the Flankers thereof, by which the enemye might cutte betwene the Fauxbourg and the Towne, and so hinder the retreat of such as should defende it. But he would needs still holde it vntill a greater occasion were

S. Quentin encircled rounde before that the Frenche once thought thereof and lesse provided for it.

Gaspard Coligny Admirall and Gouernour of Picardie getteth into S. Quentin.

were offered, to set a good countenance vpon it. Hereupon beeing willing to viewe the encamping of his enemies, he commaunded *Telligny*, to cause so. horse of his Companie to fallie out vnder the conducte of some assured man at armes, onely to viewe, enioyning them by no meanes to fight, and especially that he should not goe himselfe: But seeing the Counters engaged, and in disorder, he was no sooner aduanced without armour, and vpon a bad countail to cause them to retire, but he was wrapped in the owne downe to the grounde, wounded to death, his pike naked, and afterward carried away by a souldier, who hazarded his life, for the rewarde, which the Admirall had promised vnto him. This done, perceiving the preparatiues of the enemye to batter the Fauxbourg d'Isle, hauing carried away what could be portable, and provided for the burning of the houses vpon the watchworde giuen, hee quitted it, and caused the whole to be burned: Nowe as the Inhabitauntes had hidde their prouisions, notwithstanding any commaundement or diligence vnto forbid them, (although whither the Maior alone and the *Sire de Giberoute*, were noted to doe their duetie) so their faulte in concealing the powder, which had lye a long time hidde in the Towres of the gate of the Fauxbourg d'Isle, was a cause of great inconvenience. For to the ende they might carrie it away, as soone as it was discovered, the cokes being all rotten and mouldering into pieces, they were fayne to put it into blankettes, where the fire tooke so at vnwares, with such violence, of this diueltish mixture, as it made a breache of more then nue and thirtie paces, besides the losse of fixe and thirtie seruiceable men, which wente all into smoke. Whereupon the enemye had a fayre occasion presented to vnder take some thing to his aduantage, if the fire of the houses of the Fauxbourg which burned, had not taken away the sight of this breache from the Spanyardes, who might easily haue entered in at the beginning, for that euery man was retired to feede, and other necessaries. And albeit that the Constable greatly payned himselfe, to get succour into the Towne, according to the aduise, which he had receyued from the Admirall, who to this ende had sente forth *Vaupergue*, and from the toppes of a steeple had shewed him by what wayes they were to take their couste, yet *Dandelot* his brother was not able to bring any in, for that certayne Englishmen priuileged among the Spanyardes, had aduertised them of this enterprise. An occasion that hauing entrenched and furnished the high way to Han, by which they were to passe with harquebusers, (for so much as that quarter being allotted to such Englishmen as were ioyned vnto King *Philips* Armie, was lesse peopled with men of warre) the thirde parte was there slayne, and the rest enforced to saue themselves, albeit they had a number of men at armes and light horse to assiste them with horse alarmes, whilst that they should enter in: In the meane space to viewe the Countrie, and to hinder the enemye from enlarging himselfe, attempting vpon him as occasions were proffered. But *Vaupergue* had not sufficiently marked the places which were shewed vnto him for his entraunce in, but gaue straight vpon a Corps de garde of Fantassins, in steade of passing betwene it, and one other of Cauallerie. Where he should haue founde nothing but Sentinels, and haue bene able to gayne a little hill, all alonge the Vines, by which the Captaine *S. Mary* had entered in by fayre day light. An occasion that the Admirall had nowe ynough to doe, to encourage the besieged, assuring them that the Constable would not suffer them to be lost within, and that together with himselfe, so many Gentlemen would not carrie there if they supposed they should be but loste. It was about this time, that nine thousande Englishmen, & 1500. horse, arrived at the campe vnder the charge of the Earle of Penbrooke, *Clinton*, and *Gray*, lodged as I before

Howe a faulte ought to be made vpon the enemye.

Gunpowder.

Meanes to sende succours to the besieged, and howe to be better assured.

Englishmen ioyned to K. Philips Armie.

told

told you. In the meane time the Admirall caused 700. idle monthes to be put cut, to ease the towne so much in fauour of the voluntary men. The Prince euen as soone made his trenches, and aproches against the porte of *Romicourt*, vnder the fauour of the hedges and trees, which had not bene before cutte vp by the beleeged. Whereof the Admirall aduertised the Constable, and of the marish, by which way onely they were then able to succour them: promising to rampire and fill vp certaine litle deepe channels, which hindered their passage. The which he did by the Capitaine *S. Romain*: and to crosse the Riuer which runneth through and ouerfloweth this marish: they caused fowre boates to be brought, vpon which, being chained together, and reaching from the one shoare to the other, they might well haue passed, if they had bene able to lande on the banke, whilst that a hotte alarum were giuen to the whole campe. Vpon which the Constable being resolued, hee departed the 8. of *August* from *La Fere*, with two thousand horse, fower thousand Fantassins, as well *Almaines* as French, trayning fower field peeces alongest. Being ariued ouer against the village called *Le grand Esigny*: he made a stand, and taking the D. of *Neuers*, the Prince of *Conde*, and some others, he aproched as neere as he was able to *S. Quentin*, as farre as the descent of the marish without discouering any enemy. Afterwardes hee sent *Du Fumet* to viewe neerer, and make report of the distance of the enemy from the towne, and of the marish from them, together with the largenes of the riuer. The which he did, with two other more, who agreed somewhat with his report: whereupon on *S. Laurence* day in the morning the tenth of the moneth, there were set in battaile, at the place of execution neere *La Fere* sixteene French ensignes, and two and twentie *Almaine* with fiftene peeces of artillarie, whither the whole cauallerie came to ioine with them. Then they aduanced as farre as *S. Quentines* by nine of the clock right to the faubourge de *Lisle* on the side of fourteene Spanish Ensignes, where the whole was set in order of battaile. On the side beyond the water, and the marish, was the Prince of *Piemont* & his army, far stretched forth, hauing for sentinell, within a mile on this side, two Spanish Ensignes, which were sodenly turned downe and constrained to retire themselves beyonde the causey. At the same instant the french artillery thundered so furiously vpon the Campe, & especially into the Princes Tent, as he had no leasure to put on his armour, to retire himselfe into the next quarter of the Count of *Aiguemont*: to whom euery man retired in a strange disorder. Now for that they doubted a certaine dangerous passage, distant about one league from *Fauxbourg d'isle*, (where the french Cauallerie lay) they sent thither a corner of the *Renigraues* pistoliers, to the end to haue newes sooner by them, then footmen, which were rather like to be lost then succoured, as also that they were the more easily able to retire. And for a greater strength the D. of *Neuers* went thither with three companies of men at armes. Vpon this the Constable vsed all meanes to make his men to enter in: but the boates not being able to come to the other shore, through the abundance of the souldiers, which entred in by such heapes, and disorderlie, were so ouerladen, as by reason of the durte and oule in which they stooke, it was vnpossible for any great number of men to passe ouer: besides at the going out of the boates, the presse of the souldiers was such as they were not able to follow the waies and pathes shewed vnto them. An occasion that they scattered, and fell into the deepe ditches of the marish, whence they were not able to get out, but remained there all mixt, and the most part drowned miserablie.

The Prince of Piemont resolued to charge, to hinder

The Prince in the meane space hauing taken resolution to charge vpon so few men before the appointed succours were al entred in, the artillarie ceasing to annoy them, any

any further, caused the Comptre of *Aiguemont* to passe ouer the passage with two thousand horse, which the Frenche durste not encounter withall, and then two other Companies followed after with Battailions of foote, during whose passages, some gaue counsell to the Constable to charge vpon them which were already passed ouer. But their aduice preuailed, who rather counselled a retreat, then to aduance further with so few men, considering the furious dismarche of their enemies: Ioynte that hee was not come thither to hazzarde the Forces of Fraunce, excepte that hee were greatly constrained thereunto. And further howe hee had succoured and furnished Saint *Quentin* with all necessaries, as hee thought in spight of the enemy. Thus the Duke of *Neuers* retired to *Louys de Bourbon* Prince of *Conde*, who had the charge of certayne light Cauallerie, which the Constable had caused to tarrie at a *Windemille*. With whome being ioyned, and keeping the lefte winge, they came safe and sounde vnto the Constable, who alwayes gayned ground of the retreat, whilst that his enemies encreasing, aduanced forwardes, and had already gotten aduantage of him, in eighte great battailions of Cauallerie and Reistres. Yea, they viewed him so neere, as the Constable imagining that hee had well enough provided for the place, and that by the temporising of his enemies, they would not dare to come backe vpon him, made no other accounte, then softly to retire. The which the enemy attributing in the beginning to an assured resolution of Combatte, shewed himselfe vncertaine of the charge, vntill that perceiving the Financiers, marchautes and other, (following the *Warres* for their pleasure, or profite) to retire apace, to saue themselves, with their money and marchandises, from an enemy so neere vnto them, and afterwardes the seruantes, whome they caused to bare to retire, all which chaunging their pace to a galloppe, astonyed at the retreat of these marchautes, retired themselves with great cryes, witnesses of the feare which had already possessed them, it made the Comptre of *Aiguemont* to thinke, who suddaynely caused the Prince to be aduertised thereof, that the Frenche Armie quaked, and that it was nowe time to trye their fortune, and to charge vpon such an aduantage. In the ende, this Flemmish Comptre, hauing after he had receyued commaundement from the Prince, conferred a while with the Chiefe men which accompanied him, leauing the Comptre of Saint *Cheualsbourg*, with his Regiment of Reistres to keepe the passage, charged thorough a Flanke with two thousand horse, at the same time as the Earles *Henry* and *Ernest* of *Brunswick*, each followed with one thousand Reistres, backed and encouraged by the Comptre of *Horne*, with a thousand men at armes of the ordinaances of the Countie, sette all as it were with one trotte vpon the other Flanke, at the very same instante, as the Earles of *Maunsfelde*, *Vuilen*, *Doftrat*, and of *Geldres* with other three thousand horse, threwe vnder foote the midst with such a furie, as hauing ouerthrowne the first Ranckes, and those which seconded them, all the surplus was put to flight.

John of *Burbon* Duke of *Anguien*, being beaten downe, and afterwardes remounted, was slayned at the seconde Charge, and in the ende being brought vnto the Prince, hee caused him to bee carryed with all honour to bee buried at *La Fere*.

Francois de La Tour, Vicomptre of *Turaine*, *S. Gelais*, and more then fixe hundred Gentlemen dyed there, with foure thousand as well French as *Almaine* Fantassins, and well neere 300. men of marke taken prisoners. The D. of *Neuers* was retired to

V 1.

La Fere,

the rest from entering in, or to breake the French Armie

The occasion of the charge giuing.

The defeat and route of the Frenche at S. Quentin.

La Fere, *Espenilles* Enseigne to his men at armes, gaue his colours to *Chazeilles* to saue it. And his *Guidon S. Simon* beeing ouerthrowne, had beene taken prisoner, if *D'Auerly* had not slayne him which carryed him. The Conestable fore wounded in the haunche, was carried away prisoner, and so was the Duke of Montpensier. As also the Marefchall *S. Andre*, *Ludouit* Prince of Mantoue, the Reingraue, *Roche-foucat*, *S. Heron*, *Bordillon*, *Mouy*, *Montfaler*, and many other of name. As soone as the Fanterie perceiued this disorder, it set it selfe in square battailions, but being ouerthrown, resisted no whit at all. So as many lying bleeding, and dead vpon the ground, the rest were ledde away prisoners by troupes like muttuns. Who at the comming of King *Philip* were presented vnto him, with their weapons and coulours, in tryumph of so great and signalla Victorie, happened betweene *Essigny* and *Rizerolles*. Being pursued by the space of foure howres, vntill euening, fro the *Blanc-fosse* where the slaughter beganne, vnto the gallows distaunt one league from *La Fere*, where two piéces of Artillerie onely were recovered: the which *Bordillon* went afterwarde to fetch, to carrie them to *La Fere*, where the Duke of *Neuers*, Chiefe of the rest, the Prince of *Conde*, the Compt of *Sancerre*, *Bordillon* and other laued them selues. And shortly after such as were escaped from the Combatte, and out of prison, retired themselues in farre greater number then was hoped for. But stripped of all they had.

This done, the Duke of *Neuers* sente rounde aboute, to make it knowne vnto the disperfed sorte, howe that the *Reinde-vous* of the Armie was appointed at *Laon*, Where he assured them that they shoulde receyue their paye, which they had not seene of many monethes together. This done, hauing furnished the Frontiers with men and munitions the best which he was able, he aduertised the King of the estate wherein his affayres stode, and besought the Prince of *Piemont*, to sende vnto him the number rôle of such prisoners of marke as were taken. Then together with the Prince of *Conde* he retired within *Laon*, with sixe hundred horse the residue of all the Troupes. He leste *Bordillon* at *La Fere*, and the Compt of *Sancerre* at *Guise*. Afterwarde the King sente *De Pot* to *Han*, & *De Lorges* to *Noyon*, there to assemble together the Gentlemen of his house, and the Archers of his guards, and to prouide for those quartets; according as neede shoulde require.

Hereupon the King retired himselfe from *Compienne* to *Paris*, thereby to assure the Inhabitaunts, who alreadie quaked, seeking to retyre themselues, with the more pretious parte of their goodes, and moueables, into the furthest parts of the Realme. To whome first he sent the Queene, who was quickly at the *Guilde hall*, where she demaunded, and obtayned a graunt of three hundred thousande liuers, after an Oration made by the Cardinall *Bertrande*, Archbishoppe of *Sens*, Lorde Keeper. Who in summe declared vnto them.

Howe that the Lorde God, hauing chosen and appointed him for their King, by like meanes had created and leste vnto him, a hearte and affection to rule them, preserve and defende them, eue to the aduenturing of his owne life: Therefore that they shoulde assure themselves, that hee woulde no more abandon them, then that he had this firme belife, howe the diuine Grace would neuer faile him, to which if it hath seemed good to sende vnto him this misfortune, it was an admonition, to acknowledge the Almighty, who distributeth all thinges according to his good pleasure as well to great as small. Nowe, albeitt that he receiued it as a punishment & chastisemēt for his offences, or it mought be his Peoples, yet the danger was not so great & inevitable, but that meanes were leste of remedie, considering the succours, which they are to seeke of the

the God of Victories. And that of themselves they woulde be an ayde vnto themselves, and especially to him in this desperate necessitie, Whereupon they had to consider, that so long as the rentes of his reuennue, were able to streatche out towards the maintenance of these warres, he had not importuned them, by surcharges of demaundes, and redoublementes of taskes, or other contributions: But that hee was alwayes willing, rather to sell and mortgage his owne Demayne, exchange and borrowe elsewhere, then to sleece or moleste them. But since that now he was no longer able to satisfie them, thorough the affayres which daylye redoubled vpon him, as they mought see and perceiue with their owne eyes, therefore he besought them that they woulde succour him onely with money, and that for the rest they woulde relye themselues vpon him, who of his parte woulde neuer sayle them in will, and good affection, nor yet in force or power to succour them, or in any thing else which mought appertaine to the authoritie or Estate of a King towards his subiectes.

Brieflie the Parisians reacknowledging the good zeale of their Prince, accorded willingly vnto him three hundred thousande liuers, as also the rest of the capitall Cities of the Prouinces, contributed as their abilitie stretched. With the which he sent into *Zwizerlande*, to leuie sixe thousande men, vnder the Colonell *Luc Reistre* of *Basle*, and on the other side eight thousande vnder *Claris de Haris*. Likewise he sente the Colonell *Rechrod*, to make an other leuie of *Almaine* footemen. Albeit that the Countrie was much vnfurnished thorough the leuies of King *Phillip*, and of another which the Baron of *Poleuille* made there of twentie Ensignes, and certaine Reistres. Besides this, the King sente worde vnto the Duke of *Guise*, by *Scipion* his escuyer, howe he shoulde settle all things in *Italic*, to the most aduantage which he were able, and withdrawe his Forces hitherwards. In the meane time it was ordred that generall musters shoulde be made of the Inhabitantes of *Paris*, ouer whome there commaunded *Charles de Bourbon*, Prince *De la Roche-Suryon* in *Poitou*. This done, the King being shortly after ariued from *Compienne*, generall proceffions were made, whither likewise *Paul de Termes* was sente for, for the reputation of his vertue, especially in feates of Armes. Who being come, caused to be broken off, that vnprofitable deuice, of the long trenches, which they had begunne at *Paris* on the side of *Mont-martre*, the better to assure that passage. In the ende proclamation was made in the Kinges name, thorough out all the Countreyes, that all souldiers, Gentlemen, or other, which eyther had followed, or were able to carrie armes, shoulde retyre to *Laon*, towards the D. of *Neuers*, his Lieutenaunt generall, to the ende they mought be there employed for his seruice, and safetie of the Countrie. And that all such as woulde followe the warres for their owne pleasure, shoulde retire themselues aboute his person, vnder payne of being declared *Rebelles*, punished corporally as villaines, and disgraded of all Nobilitie.

Such an accident was soone enough able to chaunge the affayres of the Courte. Yea, to establishe an other kinde of fourme altogether, in the managing of the Estate of *Fraunce*, ouer which the Conestable seemed to holde the aduantage. But his raking caused it to fall into the handes of the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, and Duchesse of *Valentinois*, who kept it for the Duke of *Guise*, as soone as hee shoulde bee come to the Courte. During the attendance of whose Forces, the Duke of *Neuers* assembling together such as were escaped from the battaile, and as many more as hee was able, gaue foorth a number of Commissions to Leuie in the Kinges name, newe Companies, and sente *De iours* to fetch the Leagion of *Champagne*, whereof hee had beene chiefe Captayne, and drewe fīue Enseignes out of the *Garrison*

Frenchme dead
prisoners and
escaped from the
battaille of *S.
Quentin*.

The Duke of
Neuers Chiefe of
such as escaped,
reassembleth the
rest of the bat-
taille, and howe
he prouided for
the whole.

Paris feareth the
comming of *K.
Philip* on leste
then afore time
his fathers
Charles the
Emperour.

The King deman-
deth succour of
the Parisians.

The meanes
which the King of
Fraunce vied for
his better assu-
rance after the
battaille of *S.
Quentin*.

of Metz, and other olde bandes of the Garrisons neare hande, in whose steade hee sent newe, not ceasing to sende forth men of all handes to viewe, learne newes, and vpon any good intelligence, to charge at their aduantage. In the meane space the Prince of Conde suffered no more the enemy to repose himselfe, then the light horse as also did the Earles of Sancerre and Bordillon of their parte. And albeit that the Captayne *Graye* his English light horse, hauing quitted him, and carryed away his armour and horse, gaue occasion to the enemy to sende two thousand horse as farre as Oyle, to passe ouer there, and stoppe these Couriers, yet durste they not for all that venter any further, but returned to the Campe, hauing founde the Frenche watchfull at all handes, as disgrace awakeneth and keepeth all kinde of persons within their dutie, more then prosperitie, or any other accident.

To returne to the Marechall *Brissac* his actions in Piemont, whilest that hee employed his armie, in attending the effect of the long promises, which had bene made him of his paye, to waste the Countrie rounde about Fossan, blocke in Cony, and hindering them both from hauing any succours, especially of victualles or other necessities, *De Lambres*, an ordinarie groom of the Kinges Chamber, was dispatched vnto him, on the 15. of August, to aduertise him of the defeat, and taking of the Conestable, vnder Saint Quintins, and of the continuance of the Siege thereof. And further carryed a commaundement vnto him, to sende away thither out of hande, *De Termes*, and *D'Anville*, with their Companies, & the Regiment of Swizers which were in Piemont, the better to further the assayres of the Realme. Whereupon a Counsell was helde, at Lagasque, and therein it was resolved that they shoulde departe with their Companies. And how that in regarde of the Swizers, and other assayres which as then fell out, the Secretarie *Bouin* shoulde bee dispatched, with charge to condole with his Maiestie, for so great a losse, and disastre on the behalfe of all his seruantes in Piemont. And further most humble to deliuer vnto him, what their opinion and aduise was, for the preuenting of such inconueniences, as mought growe by such an accident: The substance whereof was howe his Maiestie should himselfe embrace the conduct of his assayres, and commaunde a Leuie forthwith to be made, of twentie thousande Almaines, and thirtie thousande Frenche, with correspondent Forces of Cauallerie. And that this armie mought bee on foote, before such time as the enemy shoulde haue taken Saint Quintins, or at the least assayed, taken, and fortified any other place, That to be able to restore all thinges into good tearmes, and for a long time to entertaine the saide Armie, it were necessarie to make a good prouision of money, taking vp to that ende, an whole yeeres reuennewe of the Bishopricks, Abbayes, and other benefices, without excepting anye, saving such as still trauallyed, and spent their owne about his Maiestie. Who mought, if it pleased him, beginne with the Bishoppe of Constance, Cousin to the sayde Marechall. Who likewise was of aduise, that the Estates shoulde be assembled, and that his Maiestie in person shoulde deliuer the necessitie of his assayres, and demaunde succour therein. And that all that, which mought be so drawne out, was not able to supplie the wante: That he should in the like sorte helpe himselfe by the Nobilitie, beginning with him, taking all his reuennewe, saving two thousande liuers, which mought be left to his wife, to nourishe her selfe and her children withall. That the Swizers shoulde make themselves readye to march, albeit that they were so tyred, and neare driuen of all handes, by being euill payde, as that they woulde hardly be able to bee ariued within Fraunce, before that the occasion for which his M. fought them

The English
which serued K.
Henry gained by
those of Philips
side, leaue their
Captaine and
flye.

Defeat of S.
Quintins.
De Termes and
De Anville.

The Kinge to
drawe out of
the Clergies &
Nobilities reuennewe.

them were passed ouer. And that by this meanes Piemont without cause woulde remayne vnarmed, and in great daunger: besides the losse of time and expence, which had bene employed and bestowed vpon the bringing of the sayde Fossan and Cony into that extreame necessities in which they then stood. But at the seconde summons of his Maiestie, the Swizers must of necessitie be sent away, who as it was foretolde grewe altogether vnprofitable, thorough the long aboade which they made at Lions, being very sicke, weake, and euill payde.

The Swizers goe
out of Piemont

Nowe the Marechall hauing vnderstood that vpon this defeat his Maiestie had caused newe Companies of men at armes to be addressed, hee greatly besought for *La Mothe Gendrin*, *Francisque Bernardin de Pauan*, and *Vicompt Gourdon*, but they mought not be graunted. He offered for all that to come in person himselfe vnto his Maiestie, in this his great necessitie to doe him seruice, but it woulde not bee accepted.

Certaine dayes after his Maiestie perceyuing howe few Forces were remayning in Piemont, the Swizers being departed thence, and foreseeing the daunger of some inconuenience like to ensue, sente worde vnto the Marechall, that in steade of those Swizers, he shoulde with all speede leuie newe Companies of foote, and that hee shoulde wante no money to that ende. Notwithstanding there was onely sente to paye the olde bandes, which were in extreame necessitie, many monethes hauing bene due vnto them: Yea, and in steade of remedying the necessities of Piemont, his Maiesties pleasure was, to accept the offer, which vnwitting to the Marechall was made vnto him by the Vidame of Chartres, Colonell of the Infanterie, for carrying into Fraunce from thence two thousand Frenche harquebusiers, and as many Italians. Which being accordingly put in execution, it was altogether appaunt, that thereby his Maiesties assayres were put into extreame perill and ruine, the enemies being strong, and the Frenche feeble, ill payde, and comming so lately from receyuing the disastre of the defeat of the Armie, and losse of Saint Quintins.

The Vidame of
Chartres carrieth
2000. Fantassins
into Fraunce.

As the time thus passed away, with verie small aduantage to the Kings assayres, the President *Baillif*, made offer vnto the King of himselfe, and vnwitting to the Marechall, that hee mought leuie in Piemont, two or three hundred thousande crownes, leuying three crownes vpon euery housholder, which offer was not onely accepted without any aduise at all demaunded of the Marechall, but there was likewise preste money deliuered vnto him vpon the assignations of Piemont. And whilest that his Maiestie made difficultie to heare such reasons as mought bee alleadged touching the impossibilitie of such a leuie, there was no prouision made for succour of men, nor money, in so much as many losses and inconueniences were readye to ensue: Especially for that the Vidame still pursued the execution of his Leuie of two thousande harquebusiers.

For if any man woulde haue constrained the bandes of Piemont, to muster without paye, it was to be feared that it would haue happened worse then it did at Cony. The more likely, considering in what vnfauourable tearmes, his Maiesties assayres as then stood. Who mought very well haue called to minde howe diuers and sundry times woorde was sente vnto him, that the prolonging of the Musters, was onely wrought and occasioned, by the delaye of the money, the wante whereof rendred the souldiers poore, and made them disobedient, and an euident losse to the finances of his Maiestie, which notwithstanding they colde by no meanes remedie, without hauing meanes to make a rigorous muster. All thinges being thus conducted

Death of Salu-
son.

Francisque Bern-
ardin Gouver-
neur of Casal.

Salu-son gentle-
man of the
Chamber.

The credit of a
Gouverneur is
reputed among
his owne except
it appeare some-
what about his
fame.

Pauman, Baron of
Adrek, Bonual
de parte.

The D. of Alua
commeth in Pi-
emont with his
armie.

The Marechal
and content.

conducted in this sort, and the death of *Salu-son* happening *gouverneur of Casal*: his Maieſtie as he was accustomed to doe in like vacances, neuer taryng for the aduice & nomination of the Marshall, placed *Francisque Bernardin* therein, sayning as though he had vnderſtoode that hee and not *La moſſe Gondrin* had bene put into *Casal* after the death of *Salu-son*. And albeit that his Maieſtie did afterwarde reuoke this nomination, yet matters were in ſuch ſorte handlede as *Francisque Bernardin* ſtil ſto- mached the Marshall the rather for that at his returne from the Court into *Piemont*, he was not gratesfied nor honoured in ſuch ſorte as hee expected: hee recommen- ded likewise *Mont baſin* to haue the place of gentleman of the chamber which *Salu- son* before had. But he was not able to obtaine it, ſo as he, & many other of the Kings ſeruantes, ſeeing how little credite was giuen to the Marshalls recommendations, albeit they were for men of merite began to diminish their affection, and ſome of them to aſke leaue to depart homewardesto follow their aduancement, alleadg- ing that none but ſuch as went to the court were aduanced and recompensed. Thus vpon theſe occasions, began many complaintes, diſobediences and quarrels to ariſe, which notwithstanding receiued an other kinde of conſtruction then this: ſo as being inforced thereunto the twenty and eyght of September, hee let the King to vnderſtand how many Captaines, gentlemen, and other officers daylie de- parted away without leaue as wel for want of pay, as that they perceiued right wel, how they ſhould neuer receiue any preferment, through his recommendation: a- mong whome *Pauman* had for this occaſion quitted and giuen ouer his Lieutenan- cie: and the Baron of *Ardeſſe*, the Captaine *Bonual*, Sergeant Maior of *Casal*, and ſundry other perſonages who had long and faithfully ſerued. But notwithstanding he made light account thereof, ſo as euerie man began to ſeeke an other ſupporte then his, and to perke vp the noſe againſt him. Now as his Maieſty ſtoode aduer- tiſed how that the enemies had leuiued great companies of reſolute men in readines after the comming of the D. of *Alua*, (whome they attended within fewe dayes at *Gennes* with the forces of the kingdome of *Naples*) to aſſaile eyther *Piemonte*, or the D. of *Ferrara*, (who for that cauſe had made great inſtance, that his Maieſties forces might approch to the D. of *Milan*) the Marshall beſought him to prouide thereto aſwell with force, as money: to the end he might preuent in time and place, ſuch inconueniences, which a man might perceiue prepared as well on the one ſide as the other. And for ſomuch as his maieſtie had made ſemblance to miſlike the diffi- cultie which the Marshall made vpon the leuy of two thouſande Harquebuſſiers, who the *Vidaſme* offered to bring into Fraunce, diſpatching the eightene the Secretarie *Bouin*, for inſtance of ſupplie and prouiſion of money, he gaue him in charge to de- clare vnto his ſaide Maieſtie that whatſoeuer he had done was not with any intenti- on to contrary his will, but for ſo much as his Maieſtie had not as then countermand (as he had done ſince the thirteenth) the Enſignes of the *Zuizers*, who not returning backe, and the ſaide two thouſande Harquebuſſiers going away, there was ſmal like- lihood. But *Piemont* would remaine altogether at the enemies diſcretion. And whē as this conſideration could not preuaile. Yet he ſaide that he had otherwiſe occa- ſion enough to remaine euill ſatiſfied, ſeeing that ſuch an offer had bene made without euer communicating the ſame vnto him, and afterwards accepted without euer demanding his aduiſe, as it ſeemed reaſonable, ſince that he gouerned *Piemont* the principall charge whereof it pleaſed his Maieſtie to beſtow vpon him. Not- withſtanding he ceaſed not all thinges layde by, rather to fauour then hinder the *Vidaſme*. And as it was giuen him in charge at the ſame time, to leuiue, according to

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Money leui-
ed vpon ſubjects.

the propoſition made by the Preſidente *Bailly*, three crownes of taxe vpon euery houſholder, whereof his Maieſtie made full accounte, without demanding his aduiſe at all therein, yet reſting onely vpon the ſervice of his Maieſtie, hee did ſo much, as that he leuyed vpon the Countrey ſixe ſcore thouſande liuers, wherewith he relieued himſelfe, attending better prouiſion. Vpon which leuiue, what ſayre wordes ſoeuer or amiableneſſe he could vſe, many inconueniences were readie to enſue. Shortly after, the King in like ſorte commaunded him, that hee ſhould ſende vnto him, by *Lodun*, the Commiſſions for the Captaynes, which ought to be prouided of vacant Companies, which hee muſt needes doe, albeit he had neuer meddled with thoſe Companies ſince the comming of the *Vidaſme*: notwithſtan- ding that all his predeceſſours had bene accustomed, to nominate the ſame compa- nies, as had bene practiſed as well by himſelfe in his owne right being Colonell of the footemen, as by them which had bene before him. This diſgrace was likewiſe offered vnto him, that notwithstanding any requeſt which had bene made by him in the fauour of *Offun*, and *Francisque Bernardin*, to be a meanes they might receiue the order, hee coulde neuer yeilde them any aſſurance thereof, but it was *D'Annille* which carried it away, ſo as euer after they depended on the Conſtable. In ſumme, the Mareſhall ſtill continuing, to make inſtance of ſupplie, wherewith he might be able to oppoſe himſelfe againſt his enemies forces; who might vndertake eyther the forcing of ſome holde or fortifying themſelues in ſome new, and by that meanes might abate their number, it was answered him, that they were matters eaſier talked of then done, and that he muſt needes confeſſe, that winter was alwayes win- ter, during which ſeaſon, men were accustomed to ſurſetle armes. Anſwere in deede coyned by his enemies, who would not ſo much as call to minde the taking of *Lans*, *Valence*, *Iuree*, and ſundry other places in the monethes of December and Ianuarie, in the very hearte of Winter. Thus did the complayntes of the Mareſ- chall moue the Kings Counſell bent to turne their eyes an other waye, no more, then the newes of their enemies comming into *Piemont*, no not ſo much as the de- ſcente of the Duke of *Alua*, at *Gennes* with 7000. men: and that attending their a- riual in *Piemont*, the enemies had put themſelues within *Gallianay*, (which the Mareſhall willing to haue fortified, onely for a time to haue founde the enemy oc- cupied, was conſtrayned for want of money, to leaue and rayſe it) which they be- ganne to fortifie. And leſſe the going away of many Captaines and ſouldiers day by day, eſpecially the Captaine *Benes* who demanded leaue to departe home to his owne houſe, and reple being made vnto him, that hee did but come thence, hee perſiſted to ſay that hee would goe, come what would, and whereaſ he was adui- ſed to take time to conſider thereof, and afterwarde deliuer his minde vnto the Ma- reſhall, he reſuſed it, and the nexte morning wente home without once bidding farewell. For this cauſe he beſought his Maieſtie, that ſuch diſobedience might not goe vnpuniſhed, and that his Companie might be beſtowed on the Captaine *Liſle*: which the King liked well of, and yet was it afterwarde rendred agayne vnto him. Of which the Mareſhall afterwarde complayning, and ſtanding vpon, it had bene deliuered and beſtowed on the Captaine *Liſle*, Serieant of the Battayle, who had long and faithfully ſerued, they would yeelde no credite at all vnto him, but the companie was beſtowed vpon *La Roche* a gentleman of *D'Annilles*, who had bene nothing ſo long a Seruitour. True it is that complainte beeing made of the wrong which thereby was done to the Mareſhall, it was in the ende reſtored to the Cap- taine *Liſle*. In ſine the Mareſhall well weighing howe he was handled, & how that

The D. of Alua
his armie at
Gennes.

Captaine Liſle.

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the instances and importunities which he continued as well by letters, as expresse messengers to haue the affaires of *Piemont* better provided for, brought forth no fruit at all, as small credit being yeelded thereunto, he besought leaue of his Maieſty that he might come home, and kille his hande, especially to declare vnto him the estate of his affaires and to deliuer vp an account of the gouernement which hee had receyued, the which his Maieſtie graunted for this cause, hauing ſetled all thinges as conuenientlie as he was able hee departed out of *Piemont*, leauing *Gonnor* his brother the Kinges Liuetenant Generall in his abſence. Being arriued at the Court, & vnderſtanding how ſome bad impreſſions had beene put into the Kinges heade, as well againſt him as ſundry other Gouernours and Captaines in *Piemont*, he beſought his Maieſtie, hat he would ſende thither to ſift out the matters to the ende, that hee and they might be puniſhed, in caſe they were founde true: and if they were found contrary, that the accuſers might beare the puniſhment, which the accuſed ſhould haue deſerued: to the ende that by this example all falſe accuſers might be taught. Notwithſtanding his Maieſtie would doe nothing, ſaying that hee beleued no whit at all the accuſers, that he ſhould ſpeake no more thereof, but perſeuer wel & diligentlie to doe him ſeruiſe. Let vs leaue the Mareſhall at the Courte, to looke backe into the olde purſuites which they began to renew againſt the *Lutheranes*, for expiation of the deſaſtre and miſfortune of *S. Quentins*.

As the managing of forraigne affayres, doeth ordinarily breede a careleſſenes amonge men at home, the great ones bare ſuch an affection to theſe warres, and the Churchmen and iuſtices turned their eye ſo far fixed thereon, for feare leaſt the euent thereof would giue ſome ſhrewde checke to all Fraunce. And beſides they diſpenſed by little and little in ſuch ſorte, with the purſuites of thoſe which had beene accuſed for the euill opinions which they held of the faith, as now a man could not ſee in all places but an incredible number of *Lutheranes*, to the great diſadvantage of the Catholiques, notwithstanding any ſeuere ordinances or rigorous puniſhment, which had beene before made againſt them. There was no ſpeech but of the ſecret assemblies which night and day were made in many places, and eſpecially in *Paris*: where in the end they diſcouered one in *S. Iacques ſtreete*, right ouer againſt the Colledge of *Pleſſis*. Many ſaued themſelues, yet ſome were ſlayne in their owne defence, and a great number remained there of priſoners, of all ſexes, ages, and qualities, the women were the vnchoiſed, beaten, and railed at in all ſortes. Among whom the Ladies *Douartie*, *de Rensigny* and *de Champaigne*, with miſtreſſe *Graueron de Guienne*, neere *S. Foy* were priſoners. *De Grauelles* a younge aduocate in Parlement, *Clinet* a ſchoolemaſter, renowned for his knowledge, and ſundry other to the number of fixe ſcore were taken, and clapt faſt in holde, alterwardes theſe two with *Graueron* hauing their tongue cut out becauſe they ſhould not ſpeake, were burned together in the place *Maubert*, and a number of other in ſundry other places. Certaine daies after *Graueron* his conſecration was begged, and obtrayned by the Marqueſſe of *Trans*, ſonne in Lawe to *Bertrandie*, keeper of the great Seale. But theſe Ladies after long detayning were reſtored to their husbandes, cleane contrary to them in religion, and the widowe *Douartie* was ſent backe to the Queene: for this cauſe ſundry Articles were added as then to the former, aſwell againſt theſe aſſemblies, as agaynſt bookes brought from *Geneua*: and they began a freſh a newe purſuite agaynſt the people, giuing out that they aſſembled by night together, and hauing put the candels out, each man adreſſed himſelfe to her that liked him beſt, to abuſe her at his pleaſure. Vpon theſe proceedings and perſecutions, about which there

The Mareſhall
Brillac going out
of Piemont, leaue
Gonnor his brother
Liuetenant
Generall.

Aſſembly of Lu-
therans diſcoue-
red in S. Iacques
ſtreete in Paris

Lutherans puni-
ſhed.

there grew a great ſturre betweene the Liuetenant Ciuile, and Criminel of *Paris*, before which of them the cauſe ſhould be tryed, *Musnier* being the Ciuill, ſhewed himſelfe ſo ſharpe vpon this purſuit, as he tooke the matter vpon him about the Criminel, to whome in very deepe it ought to haue appertayned. A little before the King hauing beene perſwaded that by ſome fault of obedience in the iudges, or thorough the ſtrife for one an others iuriſdiction, and to auoide the expenſes of the purſuites, how that the *Lutheranes* were ſo fore multiplied, and aſſemblies already made by them in publike, or dayned at *Compiegne* 24. of Iulie, 1557. That the Eccleſiaſtical Iudges ſhould not be troubled, in the trial, award of proceſſe, or iuriſdiction of any crime of Hereſie. That the royall iudges ſhould hold plea, awarde Proceſſe and puniſh all Sacramentaries, & diſturbors of the publike reſpoſe, vpon paine of death. But the conſecrations and ſermons which ſhould growe vpon their iudgements, ſo charitable and publike workes, not to the kinges uſe, where- nounceth the giſtes and whatſoeuer els might thereby growe vnto him. Shortly after the Prince being as yet further animated by the Churchmen, for the great aſſemblies which the *Lutheranes* made throughout his whole Realme, eſpecially in *Paris*, aſwell to celebrate the Supper and other exerciſes of their religion, as to goe a whoaringe ſaid they, and commit other deteſtable actes forbad theſe conuenticles, vpon payne of raiſing the houſes in which they ſhould be made, to what Lord ſoeuer they were proper, at *Vilier Cotterets* the 14. of September, 1559. And for the better confirmation thereof King *Francis* the ſecond added ſince payne of death, to all ſuch as ſhould be the authours of ſuch aſſemblies, whether they were made for religion or no, and that as well by day as night, and to all ſuch as ſhould aſſiſt, without hope of euer hauing their houſes builded vp againe: at *Blais* in the moneth of *November* 1559. And the 14. of *November* hee pardoned the diſcloſer thereof, and gaue him for the firſt time one hundred crownes. And afterwardes he willesh in *February* following, that all Lords Iuſtices ſhall be deſtroyed of their iuſtiſhippes, and the royall officers of their eſtates and offices, which ſhould any wayes be founde negligent in puniſhing of the authours of theſe aſſemblies, with an iniunction to the officers to aduertie him of their durtie within on moneth after any ſuch aſſembly made, and his proctors generall, to whome they ſhould ſend the copie of the information, and other proceedings thereupon. The *Lutheranes* in like ſort, to put out of mens heades, eſpecially of the Princes, and Churchmen, ſuch vile conceites as had beene giuen out and imprinted within them, as well of hereſie as of their filthie and lewde behauiours in their aſſemblies, which they made night and day, aduiſed themſelues, to cauſe the articles of their confeſſion of faith, to be preſented vnto the King and publiſhed in all places, and to beſeech his Maieſtie that it might be permitted vnto them to aſſemble themſelues in publike, to the end all men might ſee how they behaued themſelues, offering to yeelde themſelues to any ſuch payne and puniſhment, as it ſhould pleaſe him to ordayne, in caſe they were founde of any worſe conuerſation then the reſt of the Chriſtians. There enſued thereof, what you ſhall belowe perceiue.

Now ſince that all Fraunce, feeling the diſcommoditie of the diſaſtre of *S. Quentins*, no man could abſtaine from pouring out complaintes, ſome attributing the euill to haue proceeded from the ambition of the one ſide, ſome from the couerouſnes of the other parte, there were enough founde, which imputing the cauſe to ariſe no whit from any man, ſaide that God was the ſole author thereof, to ſtirre vp the ſlacknes both of great and ſmall, becauſe they did not their durtie in the proſecuting of the *Lutheranes*, of whome if Fraunce, nay all Chriſtendome were not in ſhort ſpace purged, the Kinge himſelfe ought not to expect any other progreſſe of his life,

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Ordinances a-
gainſt the Luthie-
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& managing of his estate, then accursed and reprochfull to his whole posteritie. In somme they so animated this Prince, to renew and increase the punishment of those people, that it neuer grew so hot a time for them as then, which nor being able to remedie by any so earnest pursuities as by flight, recantation, or dissimulation, they endeuoured to mollifie the courage of the greater sorte, so hotly enflamed against them, by a little writing, wherein they inforced themselves to proue that all the scourges and calamities sent from God vpon that Realme, proceeded onely from the contempt & corruption of the true worde of God, wherof they persecuted the true ministers and executors. Adding in the end such meanes as the King should holde, if he would see his Realme happie, with a repose agreable to all his subiects, and cleare deliuered from all differences, which might fall out for the matter of Religion.

The calamities and afflictions (said they) which possesse all Christendome, cleane oppressed and left desolate, were so great, as euery man confessed that they proceeded from the iust iudgements of God, and for that men suffered so many sortes of heresies to be hatched forth, as raigons at this present. But the mischeefe was indeede, for that none of them, which had the publicke gouernement, and to whome it appertained to provide thereto, did regard with any good iudgement founded vpon the holy Scriptures, who were the Heretickes, and what the true and false is, thence to drawe out a true rule & conorde, and that the true office of a King was to giue himselfe to the knowledge of such differences, as had done to the good Kinges Ezechias, Iosias and other. And afterwarde hauing laide downe which were the markes and differences of the true and false Religion, it was written in these termes. Consider I beseech now (Sir) and you shall finde, that all afflictions happened vnto you, at such time as you undertooke to runne ouer those whome you call Lutheranes. When you made your edict of Chasteaubriant, then did God sende warre vnto you. But when you caused the execution thereof to cease, and as long as you were enemie to the Pope, being gon into Allemaigne for the protection of the Germaine liberty, defended by the Protestantes, and afflicted for religion: your affaires prospered, as your owne hearte could wish. Contrariwise what is happened vnto you since that you are ioined with the Pope, hauing receiued from him a sword, which hee sent vnto you for his protection, and who was the cause to make you breake the truce. God hath turned in one instant your prosperities, into such afflictions, that they are no lesse to bee feared vpon your selfe then vpon your realme. To what ende is Monsieur de Guise his enterprise in Italie turned, going to the seruice of the enemie of God, with full deliberation to ruine at his returne the valles of Piemont, to sacrifice them vnto God as a fruite of his victories. The issue hath well shewed how that God is able to reuerse our deliberations, as of late hee did that of Monsieur le Conestable at S. Quentins, on S. Lawrence day, hauing vowed vnto God that at his returne he would go ruine Geneva, if he obtained the victorie. Afterwarde hauing alledged a number of diuers peticular examples, of marke notwithstanding, and of all sortes of estates, who (they saide) dyed of a strange and extraordinary fashon, hauing bene sworn enemies to the Lutheranes, they added. If it please your Maiestie well to aduise thereof, you shall finde, that you had no sooner concluded to runne them ouer, but euen as sodenly new troubles were stirred up by your enemies, with whome you have not bene able to fall to any accorde. The which God hath not permitted, for that the foundation of the peace, was vpon the persecution which you determined to make of the seruantes of God. As also the Cardinals haue not bene able by their crueltie, to hinder the course of the Gospell, which hath already taken so deepe a roote within your Realme, as if God shoulde slacke you the bridle to roote them out, you shoulde bee as it were a King without subiectes

Tertullian

Tertullian very well saide that the blood of Martirs was the seede of the Gospell. To take away then all these mischeefes, proceeding from the riches of the Papistes, which causeth so great whoredoms, Sodomes & incests, wallowing & nourishing themselves like swine, with idle bellies, the best way were to put them again into their former estate, as the ancient sacrificers the Leuites were, to wit without lands & possessions, as an expresse commandement thereof was giuen to Iosua. For as long as the ordinance of God tooke place and that they were exempt from ambition, the puritie of religion remained in her entier. But when as they beganne to aspire to principallities, riches, and worldly honours, then did those abominations swell out which Iesus Christ there founde. Thus was it in the Primitiue Church: for shee flourished & remained in puritie, as long as her ministers were simple, and sought not their owne greatnes and particular profit, but onely the glory of God. For when as the Popes beganne to tend to a Superintendency, and vsurped the true Domaine of the Empire, vnder a shadow of a false Donation, they wrested the scriptures, and attributed vnto themselves that seruice which we owe vnto God. Therefore your Maiestie may with good right cease vpon all their temporalities in a sound conscience to employ them to their true & proper vse. First to the maintainance of the faithfull ministers of Gods word, which should be distributed amonge them for their nouriture and entertainment as the case should require. Secondly to the maintenance of the officers of your Iustice. Thirdly to the nouriture & entertainment of Colledges, and to bring up the youth of the poore to what they should bee most apt to be applied. And for the rest which is infinite, it should remaine for the maintainance of your owne estate, conducting of your owne affaires, and comfort of your poore people which onely carieth the burthen, and possesseth as it were nothing. And in doing this an infinite number of men, and especially of your nobilitie, which now live of the Crucifix, will imploy themselves to your seruice, and the Commonwealthees, so much the more diligently, as they shall see that you will recompence none but such as shall haue deserued it. For there is neither Capayne, nor Lorde, which will not thinke himselfe better recompensed with a benefite of 500. liuers, then to see 1000. to bee giuen vnto his brother, to haue them spend in Dogges, and whoeates. And there is an infinite number of men within your Realme, which occupie the sayrest estates and offices, and neuer deserued ought of the common wealth. By this meanes it shold be an easie matter for your Maiestie to be serued onely by your owne french nation in the warres, according to the aduise and counsell of the Sieur de Langey. For you shall finde but too many men, in whome there shalbe more fidelitie, then in strangers, which exercise themselves in warre with your expence, and cary the money cleane out of your Realme. As also the seruices which you giue yearly for pensions to forrainers, & such as go to Rome euery day for Collations of benefices, which lend that againe to your enemies, to make warre against your selfe. And in thus doing, all shall remaine still in your owne Realme, which thereby will grow rich, affluent, and inuincible. When the Papistes doe see that they haue no reason at all to gaine say, then doe they assay to render such as they call Lutheranes, odious vnto your Maiestie, and tell you (if their saying were true) that you should bee made a private person, and that there neuer happened any change of Religion, but the like ensued of the Gouernement. A matter as false, as their accusing of vs to bee Sacramentaries, and that wee deny the authoritie of Magistrates, under colour of some furious Anabaptistes, which Satan hath stirred up to our time to obscure the light of the Gospell. For the histories of the Emperours which first began to receiue the Christian religion, & that which is happened in our owne time declare the contrary. Was the Roman Empire more feared and obeyed then Constantine was in receiuing the Christian Religion? And did he therefore abandon the Empire? Nay he was rather so much the more confirmed therein, and therefore of his posterity which were contented to be guided thereby. For touching those which were away, and followed mens traditions, God hated them, yea their race is no longer banished vpon the earth, in so great horrour doth God hold them which abandon him; he is neuer so little.

And

And in our time the late Kinges of England & Princes of Germany, were they at any tyme constrained, in purging away of such superstitions as the malice of time had brought in, to abolish their kingdomes & principallities? Every one may cleerly see the contrary. And how great honor, obedience, and fidelitie, doe those people beare vnto their Princes, and superiours, which haue received the reformation of the Gospell in our time? Nay I might say how that Princes before knew not what it was to bee obeyed, when as the rude and grosse people would easily receiue the Popes dispensation, to drine out their Princes and naturall Lordes. Did you euer perceiue any of those, whome they call Lutheranes, to tends to any trouble or sedition, notwithstandinge the cruell punishments which they haue endured? I call for this to witnes Monsieur le Mare-shall de Brillac, if he haue founde within Piemont, any people more obedient, then those of the valles of Angrongne, and the rest, and when at any time hee laide any charge vpon them, were it neuer so hard, if they did not beare it without murmuring. Whereas if they had not held for certaine that Kinges, Princes and Magistrates, are ordained of God, they would not so willingly haue obeyed: but being constrained by force would more slackely haue behaued themselves. The true and onely remedy (Syr) is, that you cause a holy and free counsell to be held, wherein your selfe shall proceede, and not the Pope, nor any of his, which ought onely to defend their causes by the holie Scriptures. This done according to the example of the good Kinges Iehosaphat, Ezechias, & Iosias, you must abolish out of the Church all kindes of Idolatrie, superstitions, and abuses, which shall bee founde directly against the holie Scriptures, and new Testamete: you must range your selfe together with your people to the true and pure seruice of God, without harkeninge any whitte to the Papisles sayings, that such questions haue beene decayed in the sayde Councelles. For wee knowe well enough, that no Councell hath bene lawfull, since that the Popes hauinge vsurped principallitie, and tyranny over the soules, made them but to serue to their owne conetousnes, ambition and crueltie. And the contrarietie which is founde in them, maketh them to bee sufficiently disprooued, with an hundred thousand other absurdities against the word of God, which are to bee scene therein. The true disproouing of these desicions is to bee founde in the true and sacred Scriptures, to which neither tyme nor age could giue any prescription. For by them wee receiue the Councels founded vpon the worde of God: and by them wee reiect whatsoeuer contrarieth the same. And if you doe thus (Syr) God will blesse your enterpryse, hee will encrease and confirme your raygne and Empire, and likewise your posteritie: if otherwise, the ruine is at your dore, and accursed is the people which shall remaine vnder your obedience. There is no doubt but God will harden your hart, as he did to Pharaoh: take your Crowne from off our heade as he did to Ieroboam, Nadab, Baasa, Achab, and as many of the rest of the Kinges as followed mens traditions, contrary to Gods commaundement: and giue you ouer to your enemies, to triumphe over your selfe and your children. And if the Emperour Anthonie the gracious albeit hee was a Pagan and idolater, seeing himselfe oppressed with so many warres, was willinge to cease the persecutions so cease, which in his tyme were made against the Christians differinge vntill the ende thereof, to provide thereunto, and to heare their reasons howe much more oughte you which beare the name of Most Christian, to bee carefull and diligent to make those persecutions to cease, against the poore Christians, especially consideringe that they neuer did nor doe trouble, in any kinde of sorte the estate of your Realme, or of your subjects, nor tends to any sedition or trouble. Considering in like sorte, that the Iewes are suffered throughout all Christendome, albeit they are naturall enemies to our Lord Iesus Christ whome wee holde by one common accorde for our God, Redeemer and Saviour? and vnto you shall haue heard the matter lawfully debated, and also understande our reasons taken out of the holie Scriptures? And that your Maiestie of your selfe indige, whether wee bee worthy of such punishments. For if wee bee not conuicted by the worde of God

God: fire, sworde, nor the most cruell tormentes in the worlde, shall daunte vs no whit at all. They be the exercises which God hath promised to his, and hath foresold them, that they must happen in the latter time, to the ende they shoulde not be troubled, when they see such persecutions so fall out.

The chieffer sorte for all that made no accompte at all of all these reasons, and neuer the whit lesse ceased the Lutherane persecution, recommended thoroughout all Fraunce.

Were it that they were not disclosed vnto them, or that the Catholicques wated them with some other contrary reasons, which animated them more then euer.

Let vs leaue then the fires, the bloude, the complaintes, and discourse of the Lutheranes running ouer the whole Realme, and quarters bordering about, to looke backe agayne into the happie, and no lesse bloudie progresse of the desceines which the Spanyarde thought to execute ouer the fayrest of all Fraunce.

The Prince of Piemont being resolved in the meane space to continue the Siege of Saint Quenrins, woulde in no case hearken to their aduise, which counselled him, to passe forwardes to the pursuite of so fayre a Treate: considering that Fraunce was altogether daunted, at the losse of so many of her nobilitie, and good Souldiers: besides the absence of the Duke of Guise, which had carried into Italie the rest of the flower of Fraunce: that the Parisians already trembled, who halfe resolved to quitte their Towne, woulde cleane abandon it, onely vpon the apparuance of a seconde Bastonnade: that in summe there wanted no more for him now, but courage to preferne himselfe in the viewe of so riche a Citie, to heape vpon himselfe the triumph of an immortall glory.

He on the contrary parte weighing the vnconstant varietie of humaine thinges, the most assured whereof cleane ruine themselves by the rencounter of a much more simple accident then one will easily beleue: the riches, the infinite populousnes of Fraunce, the number of Princes and other personages of marke escaped from the battayle, the thousandes of men of warre, which were in so many Garisons dispersed ouer all the Frontiers, readie to make vp an other freshe Armie, against his altogether tyred, hauing by the losse of so many gallaunt men bought his honour, esteemed it much more safe, to blocke in straighter then euer, the Admirall and Dandelot his brother, who was entered in with five hundred men onely, of all the succours which the Conestable could get, as I before tolde you: the ariall of which encouraged the rest, who had almost quitted all, as soone as they percuyed some of the frenche Enseignes to stande on the toppe of the Spanishe Trenches. Whose pretence caused them to suspecte that, which a fewe souldiers, which were escaped and entred in, assured them of, especially after the magnificent salutation and welcome, which the whole Armie made vnto King Philip, who caused the Cannon shotte to redouble, hauing brought other from Cambray, with intente to beate Sainte Quentins into powder, or blowe it vp by force of Mines, which they continued there and renewed daye by daye, albeit they were vented often enough by the coutermines of the besieged, among whome S. Remy traunyaied without ceasse, and Lanfors an Englishe man, whose countermines was more aduanced then any of the rest.

And forasmuch as the Admirall could not get any great seruice of the Inhabitants

X I.

and

K. Philip com-
meth for his Ar-
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battayle.

and Pioners, he thrust out sixe hundred of the most idle bellies, whose example though in their viewe they sawe them well beaten and euill intreated by the Spanyardes, coulde for all that little stirre them vp, so wearie were they, and backward to the perfourmance of their duetie.

The Fleminges and Spanyardes ariued before Saint Quentins the seconde day of August, and from that day, vntill the one and twentieth, they went about no other worke, then digging and hollowing the Trenches, as well for the suretie of the Artillerie, as the better to approache and gayne the Ditches.

They which were besieged in the meane space, coulde not greatly annoy them with any sallie they made vpon them, (as it hath beene tolde you, by reason of the small number of those which were besieged, and for that all the sallies which the Lorde Admirall caused to be made, were onely but to take breathe, and to be aduertised of what his enemies meant to vndertake: for so much as hee doubted least they woulde woike some newe Mynes, whereof hee coulde not haue any knowelledge at all.

That daye, as soone as euer it beganne to breake, they saluted the Towne, with a full Batterie. For all the hotte that had beene before, came from the plafourme of the Fauxbourg D'Isle, whence they sawe them worke and countermine, continuing the playe of the Cannon, all the whole day long, and not at one onely place, not much of the night passing ouer, but that they still remoued their Pieces from one place to another, to make a newe batterie. For from the seconde day, they beganne to digge and carrie forth the earth of the Ditch on their side, and shortly after they propped vp coverings with great Timber, vnder which they mought trauesse to and fro, and enter within the Ditches, without any man beeing able to doe them harme. Because there were not any Flanckes at all to commaunde the Ditch, where they mought eyther viewe; or laye batterie vnto them. And all the stones which they were able to sling at them, coulde not endammage them, by reason of the coverings, vnder which they creapt.

They began their Batterie at the Windemyll, which was neare vnto Saint Johns gate, and afterwarde scowred this place, as farre as the Tower on the water, with such a furie, that there was not lefte one sole Tower, which was not rent and razed, with the better parte of the Courayne, laying the Batterie in diuerse places with fise and fourtie Peeces.

All those which were within were greatly coufined, and deceyued in one thing, that they thought the Maisons worke and Cyment of the towres and courtines much more stronger and better then it was, the steares and thickenesse of the walles being very large. But the stuffe was so naught, that as soone as the toppe was but a little shaken and loosed, all the rest fell downe of it selfe in great lumps, whereby many were slayne and hurte with the crestes and battlements of the Parapettes.

On the 4 day of their Batterie, they carried twelue peces alongest the side of Bourg D'Isle, and mounted them within the Abbey, from whence they battered the gate where the fire was put into powder, vntill they had made themselves Maisters of the Ditches. S. Remy still well hoped to haue perfourmed some matter of worthe, but when he sawe them once lodged within, he tolde the Admirall, that he was not able to doe them any more harme, for that they had gotten the vpper ground of him: Reiterating many times, that he neuer set his foote in so badde a place, and that long before that, hee had aduertised the late King thereof. Not for that he was the more dismayed

The 22 of August the Spanyardes beganne their great Batterie at S. Quentins

dismayed thereat, or spoke of any pusillanimitie, but angrie, for that hee founde no remedie at all, nor such meanes as he coulde haue wished, being for the rest a man very resolute and wise. From the very first day of the Batterie, vntill the ende thereof, the Admirall, D'Andelot, and S. Remy, went euery night to viewe the damages, and onvertures which the Artillerie had made, and on the day resolued with those Captaynes of the Quarters whome it concerned, of that which they had to execute.

After that the Batterie had continued foure dayes, there was a great feare engendred among those of the Towne, yea and the men of Warre themselves, which the Admirall getting knowledge of, walking by night to remedie the same, hee helde one language common and generall to them all, in a place, where almost all the Captaines, and many souldiers were assembled together, which was, that hee had timely agreed, and resolued in his minde, to keepe that place with those men which he had, and if any man did at any time see him varie, or offer any speache of composition, hee gaue him leaue to throwe him downe as a coward into the Ditches: and in like case, if he founde any of them to parley to the contrary, he woulde doe no lesse by them. And by this occasion there neuer passed ouer daye, but two or three times hee woulde walke himselfe about the quarters, and in passing by, would demaunde the Captaines opinions, conferring and communicating with them, what was done in the rest of the places: according vnto that which hee had prayed them, the first day that he entred within the Towne, that euery man woulde aduertise him, of that which he esteemed best for the conseruation of the place. The batterie continued vntill the sixte daye, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, that they likewise presented themselves in sundry places within the ditches, as farre as the Parapettes at a pikes leangth.

At this presente, the Sentinell from the steeple of the great Church, aduertised the Admirall, howe that of all handes the Armie raunged themselves into battaile, and that many footemen marched towards the Trenches. The which he caused to be made knowne, in all places and quarters of the Towne, to the ende that euery man might stande vpon his garde, imagining that they meant that day to giue the assault, and he himselfe wente to three of the nexte breaches vnto him, to see what order was there kept. Where hee founde euery man in all apparaunce willing to perfourme his duetie, the like whereof he also vnderstoode from all the rest of the places, whither he had sente Gentlemen to viewe. Which was the cause that himselfe returned backe agayne verie well content to the Breache. Which he kept, being that which he supposed the enemies meante to turne their principallest strength against: for that they euer most sought to batter this place, & to leaue nothing which might serue for Flanckes, especially for that it laye iust ouer against the entrie, which they had made into the Diche.

As they were all thus attending the assault, the enemies put fire to three mines, all which were right vnder the Rampire, the principallest were in the quarter of D'Auphin. But the damage was nothing so great as they looked for, being the cause that they gaue no assault that day. So afterwarde they did not ouermuch heate them selues, but were contented to goe and viewe the breaches on the Admirals side, and descende into the Diche which D'Andelot kept.

After that the Spanyardes were retyred, the Admirall wente to viewe what hurte those Mines had made, and founde, that by that onuerture, they were not very

like to receyue or incurre any great danger, but that for all that, it was fite to worke vpon it, which hee deferred vntill night, for that they durste not touche there, or shewe themselves by day, by reason of the full viewe, which their enemies Artillerie had of them.

The great advantage of the Spaniards and and small means which the French had to endure the Siege.

Nowe were there eleauen breaches, many mines, the ditche gayned, and the Souldiers therein well couered, the Armie great to gayne the breaches, against eight hundred souldiers, and men at armes of all sorts, distributed as the Admirall thought good, the countermines little auailable, because that the Spaniarde being in the Ditche, had already gayned the toppe, most of the souldiers wauering, as well for that day by day they sawe the Cannon shotte redouble, to the losse of many of them, as thorough the small number of people, which were leste, and the badde handling of the matter by the Inhabitantes, which discouraged them as much as was possible. Hereupon the Prince of Piemont iudging the breaches reasonable, gaue order for the assaults. The first was giuen to Captaine *Cazeres*, Maister of the Campe of the olde Spanishe bandes, and to *Lacaze* Colonell of fifteteene hundred Almaines, who were there much endamaged. The seconde to Captaine *Nauarret* with the Spaniardes, and the Compte of Meigue, with the Wallons. The thirde to Captaine *Italian Romero* with three Enseignes of Spaniardes, & two thousande Englishe, who falling downe from the toppe of a breach, brake his legge. The fourth to Captaine *Carondelle* with three Enseignes of *Bourguignons*, who there loste a hande. The Admirall in the meane time went and sent to all places, to the ende euery man shoulde be readie to abide the, & put them backe. At the last he discovered three Enseignes at the foote of the Parapet, being gotten vp thither, without making any noyse or sounde of Dromme, at which time he made euery man presente himselfe to fight. But they could not repress them in that place, but that they beganne to creepe and mounte vp by one and one to an high Tower, which had bene battered with Artillerie, at a corner of the Captaine *La Garde* his quarter. When the Admirall sawe that they tooke that waye, hee was very glad, for there they graped and mounted verie vneasily, and from the place where himselfe stoode he mought a little discern them thorough a Flanker, whereby he annoyed them as much as he was able with three harquebusiers, which remayned with him, thinking verily, that it was vnpossible for them to force in that way. In the ende he sawe those Enseignes which went vp to the top of the towre, put themselves downe, but he presumed that it was within some Trench within the Parapet, to be more at couerte, vntill they tolde him, that the enemies had forced the Breache. Then turning himselfe towards those which stoode about him, he tolde them, that they must goe helpe to succour it.

Vpon that *Saragoffe* comming vnto him, asked him, whether he would goe, and what he would doe: to whom he answered, that he meant to goe helpe to sustaine the force of the Breache, which shoulde be offered, where eyther they must all dye, or put backe the enemy. And thereupon hee beganne to goe downe from off the Rampire.

Nowe you must vnderstande, that he was not as then farre from the Towre, by which the Spaniardes entred, but there was a long trauerse and a high, which hindered them from seeing what was done there.

The Admirall being come downe from off the Rampire, hee sawe all that quarter cleane abandoned, without so much as one man to make head, by reason, sayde they, that kept that garde, that they were not able to hinder the comming of the assaillants, it being not possible to descrie or perceyue them, vntill they were come

to

to the breach, in such sorte as the Spaniardes arying there in abundance, and calling vp one another, it was an easie matter to make them selues Maisters, finding no person to make resistance.

The Admirall onely accompanied with foure, whereof one was a Page, and going to gather together his Troupes and make head, as soone as he was there arrived, sawe himselfe enwrapped of all pates. Knowing then howe that it rested no more in his power to remedie this disorder, the Towne being already full of souldiers, the Almaines entring in by great Troupes, hee fought as much as hee was able to fall into the handes of some Spaniarde, as it rightly chaunced vnto him, chosing rather in that place, to abide the bruite of a common generall fortune, and all successe, eyther good or badde, then by flying away to attayne an immortall shame. He which tooke him prisoner, made him a while to repose himselfe at the foote of the Rampire, where he was all aloane, hauing loste all his Forces: from thence hee ledde him, and made him to enter into one of the Mines, which hee had made to gayne the Ditche, where hee founde at the entrie thereof, the Captaine *Aloise de Calieres*, Mayster of the Campe, of the olde Spanishe bandes, to which place the Prince of Piemont arriued incontinently, and commanded *Cazeres* to carrie him into his Tente.

Thus was that fayre and riche Towne of S. Quentins conquered on the seauen and twentie daye of August, 1557. in which they founde great booties, and mightie riches, in that it was the Staple of sundrye Marchaundises, which were transported into the Lowe Countries, and likewise brought from those places thither, thorough the entercourse of trade and traficque. Without comprehending besides many good Prisoners, which they founde there, as well of those of the Towne, as of such other chiefe Persons and Captaynes, as were come in for the defence thereof. *D'Andelot* was likewise there taken: but well remembring the badde entertainment which he had receyued at their handes during his imprisonment in Italy, hee chose rather to aduenture his life, in seeking to escape, then to fall agayne another time into that calamitie and miserie. In such sorte, as he crept vnder the fastenings of a Tente, and by night hauing sounded diuers passages within the Marthes, hee founde means to escape their watches, and Corps de gardes, and saued himselfe at Han.

De Iarnac was there taken Prisoner, so were *S. Remy*, *De Humes*, *De la Garde*, *De Cuzieux*, *De Moulins*, the Captaines *Brucile* and *Bretaigne*, *De Rambouillet*, *Saint Roman*, *Saint Andre*, *Lignieres*, and *Soleil*.

There were slayne there, the sonne of *La Fayette*, the Captaine *Salleuert*, Enseigne to *La Fayette* his Companie, the Captaynes *Oger*, *Vignes*, *La Barre*, *L'Esling*, *Gourdes*, with sundrie other.

After the Sacke of Saint Quentin, King *Philip* making no outward apparauce of his intention, caused the King and the Duke of Neuers his Lieutenant generall to prepare for all occurrences the best that they were able: and especially to provide for such places as were nearest to that which was taken. But as he was earnestly solicited to this effecte, by euery Gouvernour, to sende such provisions as were requisite, they were all astonished at the yeelding vp of Castelet, which a fewe dayes before the taking of Saint Quentin, the Compte of *Aremberge* otherwise called *Brabantson*, enclosed about in one instaunte with a thousande horse, all alongest the marthe, and towards Saint Martins Abbey: a little about which were encamped three Regiments of Lansquenettes of fourteene Enseignes, with twentie peeces of

X 3.

Batterie

The Towne of S. Quentins very rich and full of great booties.

Means of well employing an Armie.

Batterie planted in two places:

And albeit that the assurance, which the Baron of Solignac who commaunded there, had yeelded to the King and his Lieutenante, caused them to repose on that side, whilst that they hasted forwardes the Swizers and Almaines, the Frenche Fanterie and Canallerie, to furnishe out the Rende-vous, so as within fouteene dayes they mought make vp the fourme of an Armie; yet euen in the very beginning of September it yeelded vp. The which was founde very straunge, considering that the place was strong, and well provided of all that was necessarie to a Frontire: at the least it was looked for, that they shoulde haue tarryed the Assaulte. An occasion that the King caused him to be clapped vp Prisoner as soone as hee was come to Paris.

But hee was set at libertie, declaring howe hee had beene disappoynted of such necessarie Succoures as hee required, of two thousand men, in such sorte as *D'Espre* the Gouverneur in former time had vpon any Siege. Besides that, the enemies hauing founde the Castle without any ditch, on that side where they beganne their principall Batterie, and a Bastion fallen downe not yet repayred vp, in such sorte be-haued themselves, as that the ordinarie souldiers of the Guard of that Bastion, were soone constrained to abandon it, thorough the great quantitie of Bricke and mould which endamaged them, and ordinarily fell vpon them: the Batterie becing so violent and furious, as in a small space it made a waye for a horse to be able to get vp vpon the Bastion, the waye lying all open to come from thence to the breache, which albeit it was not altogether sufficient, waxed wyder within two volleys of the Cannon, and enlarged it selfe sixe score pace, or more, the Wall alreadye bowyng and yeelding of the same length, and the earth opening a pace in breadth, and in depth the length of a pike.

Which the Souldiers once perceyuing, who were not in the whole number three hundred, nor halfe of them in health and strength, they were so astonished, and despayred, that notwithstanding any perswasions which the Captaynes coude vse, many stucke not to saye, they woulde not fight at all, not knowing howe they were able to doe the King any Service therein, and therefore they thought it better to reserue themselves for some matter of greater importaunce.

Howsoever it was, whether grounded or no vpon the feare which they concea-ued the Frenche were in, least that the Imperialles woulde pursue further their good fortune, and ductie against such an inconuenience, King *Philip*, to whome the besiegers of the Castlet, came to vnite themselves at Fon-Some, attended their answer of his aduertisement from the Emperour his Father, to congratulate with him his prosperitie, beseeching him further to commaunde and ordayne what next hee was to enterprise.

But as a blade rusteth if it be let lie continually within the sheathe, so the souldier which is not employed, doeth lightly abuse his rest. For the Almaines and Spanyardes quickly mutined among themselves for the bootie of Saint Quentins, and raunsome of the prisoners which were taken the day of the Battaille: some alleadging among other occasions, howe that King *Philip* and the Duke of Sanoye fought to re-tyane all the great prisoners which exceeded a certayne summe, of purpose to pulle them out of the handes of the Almaine Lordes, who without all doubte atchieued the greatest honour of the Battayle, so farre forth, as they were all readie to departe, the rather for that the time of their oath was now expired. An occasion the french did

turne

turne the matter to their owne aduantage, withdrawing out of that nation as many malcontents as they could finde vpon any occasion whatsoever. Hereupon the Spaniarde addrested himselfe to Han, to erect a stronge place vpon the frontiers, which might serue for a succour and support to S. Quentins, the which hee determined to make impregnable, according vnto such models as the enioyners had prescribed vnto him, thereby to establish from his lowe countries easie daies iourneys of retreat, when he would either goe in or come out of Fraunce, as it shoulde seeme best vnto him. Now as vpon new occurrences alwaies proceed new determinations, the D. of Neuers being constrained to chaunge the estate and imagination of his defense, retired his men of warre from sundry garrisons, which he had into such places as were neerest vnto Han, to the ende that the imperials shoulde not enlarge themselves into any greater a compasse, likewise to the ende they might alwaies wast the country before them, and famish them by cutting of their victualles on all sides, the french had deuised to make a remouing Campe, which for this effect they might enclose and assure with trenches, Palisades and other Romane inuentions: but the longe delay of their prouisions and suddanes of their enemies cleane broke of this determination. The *Cheualier Heby*, with a number of horse entred within the place to succour it, running ouer as many enemies as durst stoppe the passages of Han, which hee found open without any thinge to commaunde it beinge flankerde on the one side with the Riuer of Some, and on the other with a Marish, being in diuers places aboue one hundred thousand paces broad, hauing very little firme or drie grounde to bee able to set foote vpon. There is a village and a Castle, the village in the state which it was then in was not able to holde out in any kinde of sorte; and albeit that there were certaine foundations and fashions of bulwarkes, yet they were so open and euill to bee defended, as that there was no account at all to bee made thereof. The Castle was of a goodly shewe, and representedd it selfe furious enough, according to the olde fortifications, beeing in forme square, flankerde with fower rounde bulwarkes, with a grosse square towre, and massiue, of a large thicknes, seruing for a platforme to the Courtines, which were ioyned vnto it, and commaunding in all and through all the Castle. But the whole was of drye stones and Masons worke, without any rampiers of earth, or other fortifications, according to the moderne inuentions to sustaine & defend a place long time, against the blusteringes and furie of our Cannons. Notwithstanding that the way might not bee altogether open and free to the Spaniarde, to enter further in if he found not a stoppe, *Sepois* which was Gouverneur, had giuen the Kinge aduise to burne the towne, in case sege were laide vnto it, whereby the enemy might haue no place to lodge in. But as for the Castle, men might holde and keepe it for a fewe dayes whilst that they shoulde bee the better able to fortifie themselves: for it was easie to iudge that hauing taken Han, hee woulde neuer ende there, but passe on further, where he might cast himselfe nowe on the right hande, and nowe on the lefte, and so daylie addresse himselfe to such places as were weake and likely in a shorte time to be caried, to the ende he might not lose and euill employ the season, which serued so fitt and proper for him.

I haue let you to vnderstande, how that to bee meete with the inconueniences of the battell of Saynte Quentins, among other preparatiues the Kinge had sent vnto the Duke of Guise, that after that hee had to his best aduantage accorded with the Pope, and the Spaniardes, hee shoulde bringe awaye the Armye into Fraunce with as much speede as were possible. This Princee sodenly let the

Pop:

Description of
the situation of
Han.

Pope to vnderstand thereof, and made him priuie of the necessity which called him backe into Fraunce, and how his Princes assayres went. Beinge the cause which made him to beseech his holines to license him, and permit him to retyre, after such time notwithstanding as he had compounded to his owne profit the estate of his affaires. The Pope then beinge already desirous to end this warre, from which hee knewe that on the other side to bee proceeded as hee sawe it evidently, and doubted least it would take ende with the ruine of one of these Princes, and finally with his owne, together with a confusion of the Ecclesiasticall estate, and infinites of other mischeefes, purposed more then before, to bee agreed with Kinge Philip, which wrought that ende, whereof I before made mention. So as the peace beinge concluded and published with all magnificence on Sunday beinge the 19. of that moneth, the Duke of Alua entered into Rome, about one of the clocke in the after noone, with great apparances of ioy, aswell by the salutations of the artillarie, as an infinite number of squibs, and other meriments, which they are accustomed to make especially in those parts, at the welcōme and amiable entertainment of any great Prince. The Monday following they helde Consistorie, where there were chosen & deputed two Legates, to intreate of an vniuersall peace. The one which was the Cardinall of Tiouli, towards the most Christian Kinge of France, and the other which was the Cardinall Carlo Caraffe, towards the Catholique King Philip.

The Duke of
Guise departeth

The Duke of Guise in the meane space departed out of Italie, to take his way into Fraunce, and to imbarke himselfe at Ostia in the gallies & french vessels which attended him with a sorte of Lordes, Captaines, and two thousande harquebusiers, the other parte of the Armye vnder the conducte of the Duke D'Aumalle, returned through the Popes lands towards Bologne and Ferrara, and so from thence they passed all for the most parte through the Grisons and Zuizers into Fraunce, where the Duke of Guise beinge arriued was sodenly sent for to adresse an armie at Compienne. At which place the Kinge beinge anone after arriued, declared (all such as were then in Court beinge present,) howe that the Duke of Guise was come iumpe for the preseruacion of his Realme, and it was proposed to treat him Viceroy of Fraunce. But this title beinge thought strange, it was commaunded that letters should be dispatched to make him Lieutenant General ouer all the Countries within his obedience. The which were dispatched by Du Thier secretaire of the Commaundementes, and afterwarde receyued and verified by the Parlemeñt of Paris, and other soueraigne Courtes of the Realme: whereof notwithstanding shortly after the Kinge excused himselfe towards his Goship, (so he named the Constable) sendinge him worde by secrete Letters that hee was constrained to doe as hee did, and that hee should not bee greued for ought, in that hee still reserued his place for him, for he was so farre off, from hauing the friendship which hee boare vnto him any wayes cooled through his absence and captiuitie: that contrariwise it inflamed him the more, so farre as that hee most diligently aduertised him of all his secretest assayres, without communicating ought to any other. Whereof Kinge Philip beinge aduertised, knew well enough how to make his profit as you shall see else where.

The Duke of
Guise made Lieutenant
General ouer
all his countries.

K. H. s. letters
to the Constable
beinge prisoner.

In this same tyme there happened in like sorte, straunge floudes, and inundations of Riueres at Rome, and likewise at Florence. That at Rome fell out the same day of the peace, beinge the fourteenth of September, Tiber, one of the most renowned Riueres of Europe, which some notwithstandinge number amonge the swift snowie streames beinge greatly swelled, as though it would threaten Rome

with

with great ruines, encreasinge howe much for the night followinge it began to enlarge itselfe ouer all the lowe groundes, of the meadowes and vineyardes rounde about. The next day it beinge encreased and broken in throughout the towne, all the channells and gutters of the streetes and houses standing full, the depth thereof was found in some places of the towne of the height of a man, and more in the place D'Agone, A la Rotonda and A la Diana. So farre was this metellic and dreadfull inundation, from giuinge leisure to the people to reioyce at this present that it made them more affrighted and desolate then before, which caused a number to thinke that it happened as a signe and aduertisement from Gods, eyther for matters present or to come, or rather to moue vs to a conuersion and amendment of our finnes. Nowe this furie of the water endured all that day and by the foure of the clocke at night, that it began a litle to ebbe and decrease, so as by the next morning at breake of day, it was ebbed more then a thafteiment, and then by litle and litle decreasinge, euery man in the afternoone might easily goe about his busines. The depth of the water, as some haue saide, in many places exceeded the markes which was left at the other inundation in the yeare 1530. Others were of opinion that it wanted an handbreadth. Whereupon they alleadged many reasons, among other that the Cauces which were made and couered within Rome (for it is augmented in buildinges a third parte) had receiued and swallowed vp a great part of the water. Some iudged that the great number of newe streetes was a cause of the depth, and other affirmed howe that the earth which was raysed vp since that time, caused it to lye higher then it was. But they which iudged it to bee the greatest, say that it fell out so, for that in the towne off Hortia and Narin, and all other places where it passed alongest, it left behinde it a great abatement and ruine of houses: hauing carried away halfe the bridge of Saint Martin, together with the excellent chappell which Pope Iulie the thirde caused to be builded there: it vndermined and remoued certain great peeces of marble, & great quarters of stone which defended the bridge of Saint Ange. It rayled and renterled a great parte of the bulwarke and bastions which they had caused to be builded a yeare since ioyning to the Castle. Besides that it threwe downe halfe the Temple, and most parte of the buildinges of Saint Bartholomewes monasterie, scated in the floud of Tiber. Briefely, there was not within all Rome, either pallace or building, alongest which this furious rage of waters had passed, which carried not some marke and testimonye of the wrath and violence of this angrie Element. As touching that of Florence by the breaking forth of the River Arno, men iudged it farre greater then that at Rome, and to haue occasioned farre more incomparable and important losses as well in overthrowing of houses, as in the destruction and perishing of golde, siluer, marshallises and other sortes of mouables, besides which is more to be lamented, the death and suffocation of many persons. It first ruined and ouerturned for the greatest parte the Conuents and monasteries of the pore maidens of Sainte Verdiane, of the Kecluses, and of Saint Mary Nouelle. It carried cleane away the bridges of Rubaconde, and La Trinitie. It threwe downe almost the whole borough of Oquopanti, as farre as the Medowe, and on the side of Sainte Paule, as it likewise did the newe market place, where they exercise the Arte and occupation of skeining and twisting of silke. In such sorte as all the store houses and shoppes were for the most part ruined, beinge a most grievous losse. The Dukes pallace was not whit exempted, but was founde spoiled in a number of places. As touching the region bordering rounde about

Signes sent for
advertisements
from God

Ruines caused at
Rome by the
flood.

Desolation of
the flood at
Florence.

the

the high way to Cazenlin, it was so deepe and ouerflowne in such a manner, as it coulde very hardly bee repayed to bee made passable, and in the borough there dyed seuerie and foure persons, carrying the houses cleane to Pontasenco and there remayned cleane sunke. Petecolle, and Saynte Douin, with many other buildings all alongest the floode Arno.

Moreouer to speake of the depth of the water vpon the place of Saint Croix, it exceeded foure good fingers in depth the inundation which happened at Florence in the yeare one thousande five hundred forty and seuen: which made men iudge the latter to bee very great consideringe that the former was almost vncredible. It was the height of one fadome and a halfe at Saynt Croix: in such sorte as the losse was so great and generally, as the Duke remitted to his subiectes for a certayne tyme, the most parte of his taxes, and subsidies, which otherwise were very great.

Flood at Nismes
in Languedoc.

At the same time, there happened in like sorte, on this side, an other floode at the towne of Nismes in Languedoc, differinge notwithstanding from the rest, in that it was not by the breaking out of any floudes or riuers, but by the powring downe of the cloudes, and opening of the gates of heauen, (as the Philosophers were wonte to terme it) the which accident befell the ninth of September in the same yeare, together with so fearefull thunderings, flashes & lightnings as all the people verily imagined that that would haue been the very last day of their life, this celestiall furie lastinge vntill it was past eyght of the clocke at night, besides that, there fell from else where so meruelous and great an aboundaunce of water, as these miserable and wretched Citizens thought that together with their whole towne, they shoulde haue bene sunke and swallowed vp. And albeit that it lasted not long, but about some twelue or fiftene houres, yet notwithstanding it did greatly endemmise and hurte the towne which was in very many romes and places disformed thereby, and the territories thereaboutes greatly wasted and empouerished: for that the fieldes and places of tillage were maruelously couered with stones and other ruines, such as the rage of waters driueth alongest, and leaue at such time as the force and violence thereof diminisheth, and the Oliue trees (wherewith this Prorince much aboundeth with great care of trimming them for the great profite, which is drawne thereby through the oyle) were all brused and broken, and the Vines clungd together and full of sande, with an infinite number of other dammages and calamities. Briefely many men thought that there was not almost any thing which felt not the waight of Gods wrathfull hand in this flood.

Hereby then were discouered sundrie antiquities, hidden and buried vnder grounde, at the least since the Gotes sacked and rayzed this towne, a thousande yeares agonne, as well appeared, howe longe before vnkowne: as aunciente sepulchers and Monuments, great quantity of meddalles in copper, and some of golde and siluer, longe pillars of one peece equally proportioned, testaments, Epitaphes writen in harde stone, and grauen in peeces after the Romanisquo. There were discouered likewise fayre and rich pauementes, and floors of lowe parlors, chambers and shoppes, wherein were founde tables of marble, Porphir, & Iasper, wrought a la Mosaque: besides there were founde many fragmentes of auncient dishes, and some entire, of a redde earth, so passing fine, and sleek, that it carried his owne vernishe: the which men in aunciente time caused to bee brought from

from farre Countries, especially from Samos in Greece, enriched with stories, or clownes resemblances very pleafante. Many other singularities were there vntered and brought to light, with great meruaile to as many as sawe them. Sundrie other places of Europe were likewise touched with the same mischiefe and calamitie, as numbers of celestiaall signes, such as the Comete of the yeare before, pillars of fire, and in some places hunting of dogges, crying in the ayre, and some men fighting, and two sunnes, red and inflamed, such as were seene in Almaine: besides many other prodigious and monstrous workes, which nature brought forth in that time, vpon the earth, all which signes coulde not bee adiudged to bee any other thing then threatnings and messengers of the celestiaall wrath, which shoulde warne vs eyther to a voluntarie acknowledginge of our sinnes, and amende-mente of our liues, or assure vs of a vengeance at hande, and punishmente of our iniquities.

Han battered &
taken by King
Phillip.

To returne to the siege of Han, it had no sooner endured twelue hundred cannon shotte together, which made a reasonable breach, as well at the great Tower, as the Courtyne, the walles being there drye without rampiers and bastions, but it was yeelded and giuen ouer into the handes of Kinge Phillip, the twelfth daye of the moneth of September. Afterwardes hee remayned there a while, to aduance and set forwarde the fortifications which were alreadye begunne, addinge thereto as much as was supposed to haue bene forgot. And whilest that the Baron of Poleuille, hauing bene sente by Kinge Phillip at his departure from Sauerne, aduanced forwarde to ioyn himsele in Champayne, with twenty Ensignes of Almaines, and twelue hundred horse, occupyinge himsele in the places borderinge about hee sent to sease all the stronge places remayning in the handes of the Frenche, which were any wayes able to annoy the garrison. Then causing a number of horsemen furnished after the French fashion to enter in, hee surprised Noyon, and the companies of light horse of the Baron of Clere, and one of the Scottishe, vpon whom they entred at fayre day, the gates being open, from thence they leaped vpon Chauny, where they placed a stronge garrison, not for to fortifie it, considering the imperfection of the place, and howe it was to bee commaunded two seuerall wayes, but onely that thereby they might the more easilie gather the Vines: the vineyardes thereaboutes being very good and of great compasse.

Noyon surprised
by disguising of
rayments

Likewise to fauour the conduct of all other kinde of victualles wherewith they mente to furnishe Han, Saynte Quentins, and Le Castellet, which they fortified amayne: besides the great easance of the better Milles which stood vpon the Riuier. Thus fortifying these two places, they passed ouer the moneth of September, and beginning of October, in roades, pillryes, and burninges, as well on the one side as the other, still weakening notwithstandinge Philips Armie, as well through the Englishe mens returne home malcontentes, for want of their booties, and euill entertainment, as in respect of the Almaines, who their oath being nowe expired retired day by daye to the Duke of Neuers, who furnished with them his bandes, that were not compleate, and erected newe ones of the surplusage.

The Kinge in the meane space hastened forwardes his armie, and to assemble it together at Compienne, sente thither the Duke of Neuers, who speedily employed himsele to the makinge that stronge and defensible, adding to the natural all arte possible, for that necessarily, and as it then stood it serued for a frontire

The diligence of
the D. of Neuers
at Compienne,

to Fraunce first causing two large fortes to bee rayfed, with high and fayre platformes, the one to commande ouer all the plaine, which lieth betweene the Forrest and the towne, and the other ouer all the lowe grounde, and course of the riuer, and alongst the medowe, employing besides all diligence to repaire the towne, flankerde with bastions, cazemates, tarrefses, caualliers, and trauerfles, in such sorte as in case the enemies artillarie had arriued there, they shoulde haue founde play for alonge season: moreouer, he caused the enclosure of a campe to bee appointed out, and rayfed vp with trenches, so large and spacious, as that an armie of a hundred thousand men, was able to lodge there, with all furnitures and prouisions, as safely as within a towne, together with all easances as well of the Riuer as of the country. As hee thus prouyded for the aduancement of these fortifications, so spared he his purse no more then his spirit, to the entertainment of spies, sent out into all partes. So as hauing vnderstoode the very force and ordinarie vsage of the twelue hundred horse which lay in garrison at Chauny, still ouerrunning without cease, and with great aduantages those about Coucy & Soissons, he gaue the rendezous to Bourdillon, the Prince of Conde, and Counte de la Barbize who conducted the Reistres, to ambush themselves within Chauny woods whilest that hee woulde sende *Ienlis* to beginne a skirmish to the helpe whereof such as came out of the towne, being no sooner drawne thither then kept backe, the light horse gayned both the towne and them: so as the Captayne of the Albanois, and his whole troupe was cut in peeces. But the Spanishe Captayne getting into a house, which hee perced through, held good vntill that the French harquebusiers had wrapped him in on euery side. The which made him in a desperatnesse steppe forth, his courtelaxe in one hande and buckler in the other, to die honourable with the rest of his fellowes, but as hee was giuing his faith to the Captayne *Launay*, hee killed him, harde by the Prince of Conde who had done as much to the French man, if the swearing vnto him, howe that this Captayne had killed the most valiant of his souldiers, and had euer made fowle warre vpon the French, especially at the defeate of Saint *Laurence*, hee had not befought him to pardon this his iust chollar, which had so farre caried him for the amitie of his countreymen.

The Baron of Poleuille, passing in this time ouer the mountaines of Vaulges, and the Countie of Ferrette, and coasting *Le Bassigni* entred within the French Countie, betweene the Countie of *Mont-Belliarde*, and *Langres*: where those of the Countie vnder colour that they were constrained thereunto, contrary to their promises, and pactions of neutralitie, gaue him passage, victualles, and all other prouisions for his campe. Afterwardes hee came downe into *La Bresse*, hoping with in very fewe dayes to make himselfe maister thereof, through certayne intelligences which hee had with some gentlemen of that Prouince, and other of their neighbours which were euill affected to Kinge Henrye. So farre, as at his first abord hee planted his siege before Bourge, which is the principall towne, thinkinge to haue founde it vnprovidid of all thinges for defence. But *La Guiche* which was gouernour thereof, and the Baron of Digoyne his Lieutenent being aduertised of his comming, had already caused *La Guiche* company to enter in, and some other troupes of footmen.

On the other side you might perceiue aboue, how *D'Eschenetz* with his company followed him continually neer hand, as also did *De Tours* with his 8. enignes of the legion of *Champagne*, who kept him continually so neer a neighbourhood, as they were as soone at *Bourg* as himselfe, into which they entred, doing therein a great peace of du-

tie

tie and seruice to the King, and so was he founde frustrated of his first opinion. Vpon the desfeine, and pursuite of this Siege, the Kings Armie which returned out of Italie, arriued at the iumpe, so as the two thousande harquebusiers, which were ledde by the Vidame of Chartres, entred within the Towne. And from elsewhere they caused foure thousande openly to approache thither, & three thousande *Lansquenettes*, the whole Company which arriued and dayly came beeing stayed and lodged about, as well in *Bresse*, as *Lionnois*, and *Mascanois*, being all resolu'd with full intention to charge when the first occasion shoulde be but offred. In the ende after that he had three seuerall times remoued his Campe before the place, the sixteenth day of October, *D'Eschenetz* about the entring in of the night sente fiftie harquebusiers out of the Towne, to viewe his Campe, together with the countenance & assurenesse of his men, who hauing at their first arriuall killed the Sentinelles, thrust in, and broke vpon their Corps de gardes, whome they massacred in parte, and caused the rest to flye, putting the rest of the Armie into such a fryght, as from that houre it dislodged: And it made so great speede to retyre, as before that the French coulde haue certaine newes thereof, and be ready to follow, they were foure leagues off. Where leauing many sicke persons, victuals, and moucables, hauing taken agayne the waye to the French Countie, from which they were come, shortly after the Troupes brake of themselves, and abandoned the Baron their Chiefe, for that he performed no iotte of what he had promised vnto them.

Nowe albeit that the desfeins of this Baron were thus turned into smoake, and the great fire of the Almaine, Englishe, and Spanishe Armies, seemed to smother and decrease by litle and litle, so many Nations notwithstanding being banded against Fraunce, coulde not chuse but greatly diminish the Forces thereof, and prepare a most certayne ruine to the whole Realme, had the Frenchmen wanted heart to defend themselves, or good will to make supplie to such necessarie meanes, as mought best stoppe the courie of the Spanishe fortune. For King *Henry* being no lesse curious, in such occurrences to rayse vp and encrease his honour, then to preferue his people from the euill which was threatned, foreseeing the number of Forces, which woulde be necessarie for this purpose, and howe his Finances beeing drawne drye, there woulde rest no meanes of furnishing a paye, excepte he were succoured from elsewhere, was counselled to renewe the practise of his auncestours, to witte, to seeke ayde and fauour of his people, to whome hee coulde not more commodiously declare his necessitie, and perswade them to furnishe out his charge, then by calling together the generall Estates of his Realme. The which he caused to be done at Paris the sixte of Ianuarie, where all the Deputies being assembled in one of the Halles of the Pallace called *Saint Lewis hall*, the Prelates and Ecclesiasticall Ministers arrayed with their rochettes, and surplices, were placed vpon such seates, as on the right and lefte hande were prepared for them: and on a stage vpon the right hande high rayfed vp, were the Baylives, Seneschals, and other for the Nobilitie. Vpon a benche belowe, couered with floure de lices, were the Presidents of the Parlements. At the ende whereof, vpon an other lesser forme on the same side, satte the Kinges learned Council, of the Parliament of Paris, the two aduocates, and proctours of the King. In the middle of the roome, there stood a little square table, couered with a carpette of cloth of Siluer, at which there satte three Secretaries of the commaundementes, and two other a little further vpon a lowe forme. At the foote of the Kinges chayre of Estate, satte the generall Treasourers of the Finances, aboue whome and in the fullest place of viewe of the whole Hall, were sette two Chayres, the higher

The meanes which the King used to lenie an Armie against the Spanyard.

The generall Estates of France assembled by the King to declare vnto them, his necessities and seeke succour against Spayne at their handes.

being couered with purple Veluet pouldred with Flower de Lucs Golde, being the Kings seate, and a pace and a halfe off, almost on the same ranke there was another somewhat lower couered with cloth of Golde, for *Monsieur le D'Auphin* his Sonne. And on the top hung vp a cloth of estate suitable to the K. Chaire. The Provoost of the Marchants of Paris, the Sherifes, the Deputies of Rouen, of Lyons, of Tolouse, and consequently of the rest of the Townes, were ranged on the Bishops side where there was greatest roome. Anon after arriued the Knights, hauing their great order about their necke. To wit the D. of Neuers, the Prince de la Roche Sur Jon, the Comte de Sancerre, Durs, and de Bordillon, who mounted vp on the right hand about all the Nobilitie, hard by the D. of Lorraine, and the rest of the young Princes. By and by came the K. and *Monsieur le D'Auphin* his Sonne, accompanied with the Cardinals of Lorraine, of Bourbon, of Guise, of Castillon, and of Sens. The King being set, *Monsieur le D'Auphin*, and the rest of the Cardinalls sat downe on the same side.

The K. declaration
on to the estates
of his Realme.

Vpon this the King began to deliuer how since his comming to the Crowne he had had continuall war with the Englishmen & Bourguignons auncient enemies of Fraunce. Into which warre hee was constrained to enter, for the recouerie of such Frontire places, as his enemies had vsurped, as Boulonnois and the rest, and howe that to furnish the defraying of the same, hee had bene constrained to sell his owne Domain, and afterwarde impose manie Subsidies vpon his people, wherewith to his great greefe they stood sore oppressed: That for the regarde and consideration of them, hee had offered to obtaine place, albeit it was a verie preiudiciall condition for himselfe, but onely hee was moued thereunto for the singular desire which hee had to keepe his people in a peaceable estate, whome hee had alwaies founde most faithfull and enclineable to his obedience and seruice. And for so much as hee stood aduertised that his said enemies, were in a farre greater deliberation then euer, to enterprise and assaile the Realme of Fraunce, hee reposed all his whole trust after God, in the fidelitie and succours of his saide Subiectes, and therefore hee purposed to make a strong, great and extreame warre, thereby to recouer a good peace, as of meere necessitie being compelled thereunto. But for so much as money is the principall sinew of warre, he earnestly besought euerie one of the states, that they would now succour him to resist the enemy, and that afterwards hee would employ all his endeouour, to attaine, and preserue his Subiectes in tranquillitie: Promising in the sayth of a good King and Prince, that hee would from thence forward to graciously vse them and settle all thinges in such an order, as euerie man should haue occasion to contente himselfe, and that for pledge of his good will and affection, hee choose to make this promise in publicque; and in his Sommes presence, to the ende that both of them might thereby bee comprehended, and bound to the performance of the same.

The King having finished his speech, the Cardinall of Lorraine, holding the first place, and speaking for the estate of the Church, beganne a most learned speeche and Oration, and gratefully pronounced, which lasted the space of an hower, as well in the praye of the King, as yeelding vnto him thanks for his good will and promise: Concluding that they would all submit their bodies and goodes to his will and good pleasure. The Duke of Neuers speaking for the Nobilitie in fewe wordes sayde, that they were so affectionated to his seruice and the Realmes defence, as that they presented vnto the King not onely their bodies and goodes, but also their liues. Afterwarde *Saint* President

President of Paris, answering vpon his knees, in the behalfe of the law, and all the presidents of the rest of the Parliaments of Fraunce, first thanked the King for the good and honour which it had pleased his Maiestie to do them, in erecting a fourth estate of the Lawe: and also to manifest vnto his Subiectes, his good will and affection, with sundrie other speeches and thankes giuing, tending to the praye of his greatness, and of his promise, in that hee would so couragiously maintaine warre, by repelling of the enemy, to attayne a long and perpetuall peace for his Subiectes, and afterwarde to redresse all thinges into theyr order, to the repose and contentment of euerie one offering on the behalfe of that estate, not onely the goodes but the verie bodies of the officers of Courtes: for the last estate of the commons, and Deputies of Townes, *Du Mortier* stepped vpp, and hauing made three great reuerences, hee most humbly thanked the King for the good will which hee beare vnto his Subiectes, in seeking to preserue them in peace, after resistance of the enemy, especiallye hee approoued and greatlie prayled, the good desire which hee had to settle Fraunce agayne in good order, which had suffered manie disorders thorough the necessitie of warres, which notwithstanding albeit that the poore people were alreadye weakened and waxen feeble in theyr power, yet would it rather let it selfe bloude, that after hauing exposed vnto him their bodies and goodes, they might likewise sacrifice theyr liues for the defence of the Realme.

After that all the Deputies had finished their propositions, before that the King rose, the Cardinall of Sens, keeper of the greates Seale, kneeled downe before the King bowing downe his head verie lowe. Afterwarde rising vp hee returned towards the assistants, and saide, that the King had commaunded him to vse this speeche vnto all the people. That to beginne to restore all thinges into a good disposition for the comforte and repose of Fraunce, euerie one of the Deputies of the Townes shoulde set downe in writing all theyr griefes, and put those pointes into Articles which had most neede of reformation, and then deliuer them into the saide *Du Mortier* his handes. Vpon which the King with the Lordes of his Councell, would particularly order euerie one, as hee shoulde see needefull, and in such time, as they shoulde bee made priue vnto. And that the Deputies shoulde not departe out of the Towne, vntill they had more ample vnderstoode the Kings pleasure. This being saide, the King arose, and after himselfe being retired, euerie man tooke the waie of his retreat. Certaine daies after the Deputies of the Townes, were sent for to the Cardinall of Sens his lodging, where they found the Cardinall of Lorraine, with other of the priue Councell. There the Cardinall of Lorraine, deliuered vnto the Deputies of the Townes, the ende and scope of his assemblie, to witte that the King would borrow three Millions of Golde, and that hee would haue found out three thousand persons within his Realme, which might lend him euerie man a thousand Crownes, declaring how that the Cleargie had alreadye offered a thousand men, which should lend euerie man a thousand. That the Townes of Fraunce should find two thousand men, and that the K. would diminish his taxes, for the ease of his common people which was greatly oppressed therewith. And that there should bee no more custome put vpon marchandise for the entertayning of traficque, charging the saide Deputies to doe one of the two thinges, euerie man to giue a parte by him selfe the Roles of such as were able to furnishe money,

and the other to giue in writing to *Du Mortier*, all such Articles as seemed good vnto them for the reformation of causes. At their departure the deputies consulted together, and concluded it touching the charge which was giuen vnto them; they were not able to giue anie roles of names, for that it was vnpossible for them to bee able to know the estate of the perticular persons: for such a one is oftentimes reputed to haue money which hath least. And for to discharge themselves from giuing anie such Roles, they went the same daie to the Cardinall of Lorraine, to whome they declared that it was vnpossible to giue vp any such Roles with any certaintie, by reason that they were not pssibly able to knowe and vnderstande the abilitie and meanes of the inhabitants: for as much as some man hath store of goods in apparence which hath no money at all. And for the regard of Marchants which worke vpon their credit, many a one maketh great show, and traficques outwardly, which is neere enough at hand to be come bankroue. Afterwards they of the priuie Counsell deliberated of the matter.

Whereupon considering how that the Deputies of Townes, were not able to make vp anie true Rowles, thorough the vncertaintie of persons habilities, they concluded that they would charge and taske in euerie Towne so many men as shoulde lend money: and if they were not able to lend a thousand Crownes, then to lende fise hundred, augmenting the number of persons. The fourth estate afterwarde gaue vp Articles for the reformation of causes, according as the present time required. Briefely in the ende the Ecclesiasticall estate garunted vnto the King in a pure giust, a Million of Golde besides the tenthes. And the fourth estate two Millions of Golde, declaring further vnto him, that if that would not suffice to maintaine the warre, and compell the enemy to harken to some good peace, they would expose all that remayned of their goods and persons at his seruice.

Hereupon the King perceiuing all his forces to be ioyned together in one, ouer which, and his whole Realme throughout, hee had already declared the Duke of Guise his Lieutenant generall, determined that the conquest of Calais, & the countie thereabouts should be the first exploite thereof; and so the aduise of those which counsell'd him to assaie to recouer such places as were lost, was differred vntill a better season: considering that they were wel enough prouided to hold out a long time, that winter approached on; his troupes being come from so faire off, especially his men at armes, being altogether wearie with their great paines taking the Sommer before. And the whole Countrie cleane wasted, and especially vnprouided of all victuall, and fourage, thorough the continuance of the warres passed. Now as the gentle harte awakeneth, and groweth affected according to the good or euill example of an other, and chiefly in seeking to doe best, when any hatred or ialousie is intermingled, so this Generall, being curious to make it appeare, that to blot out the Constables disgrace, he had no smaller meanes vnder the winges of his Prince, then the D. of Sauoie supported by the K. of Spaine, endeouored by his long secrete and continuall diligence, to take his aduantages, as happily as the Prince of Piemont had done in his former exploits of Picardie. Therefore vnder-taking vpon his honour, the conduct and finall execution of *Senarpons* Gouvernour of Boulonnois his olde and so often differred secrete enterprises (to the pursuite wherof the Constable marched, had not the desastre of S. Quintins crossed the course of his good happe,) and perceiuing how all thinges had of a long time beene made ready, aduised, that the better to take away anye suspicion from the Spanniardes of his intente and meaning,

the

the Duke of Neuers should carrie halfe the armie into Campagne, giuing out that he went to batter Luxembourge, Arlon, and other places which Frontered vpon his gouernement, and that the other part should remaine with the D. of Guise only to hinder any entire victualling which should bee brought to such places as had beene newly conquered. But the Duke of Neuers seeing that nothing presented it selfe of suddaine taking, that the Spaniard had disperfed his armie, in fortifying the places about Luxembourge, which were euill enough prouided, sent backe his troupes with all diligence to the Duke of Guise; who in the meane space bending towards Amiens, as it were to victuall D'ourlen, and after to strengthen Ardres, & Bolongne, found meanes to vnderstand and learne the passages, forces, estate and desseins of them of Calais. Wher vnderstanding how that all things remained in the same state, as they left them, with a great promptnes he presented the choysest of his men before the fort of Nieullay on the first day of Ianuarie. Where finding at their ariual a little fort palissaded & rayfed vp with earth: which the English men had builded at S. Agathe, a smal village neere hand, and at the beginning of the cawfie which leadeth to *Pont de Nieullay*, he caused it to be assaulted by two thousand Harquebusers chosen men, seconded with thirtie horse, with so great a furie, as hauing put backe an Ensigne of those which kept it, comming out to the skirmish, by fauour of the Cannon, and of the Marish which was couered ouer with a three-score horse, hee caused them all in the end to abandon it, and retire themselves to the great forte of Nieullay.

The port of Nieullay taken from the English men, and how.

The which at the first bound greatly astonied the English men, for they expected nothing lesse then such an encounter, and no waies the French forts to bee either so great or so neere at hand. And contrariwise this victorie at the first augmented the others courage, and put them in a great hope of attaining their principall end, when as they perceiued their enemies at the first entrie not to be able to withstand them. At the same instant albeit it grew already verie late, the generall and *de Termes* went to view the port of Nieullay, and presently were the approaches and trenches begon, into which as soone as the Artillerie was brought, it was planted with all possible diligence, to begin the batterie as soone as day would appeare. And for that all the fruite which they hoped of this effect, did require a great promptnesse, to the ende the besieged might grow astonished without any leasure to looke into themselves, and to put them cleane out of hope of looking for any succour, at the same time, this Prince caused a parte of his armie and Artillerie to march on the left hand all along the Downes to occupie them and gaine an other forte which lyeth at the pointe of the Downes called Ricebanke, the which commaunded and helde all the hauen (subiecte, so as no vessell of the enemy coule enter in. Likewise it was verie necessarie for the obtaining of the Towne of Calais after, to sease at one blow vpon the fortes which kept the two passages, whereof that Nieullay, kept and defended all the caufies and passages by land, part of them being Mareshie, to the end the Flemings might be cut off from succoring them. And the other which is called Ricebank being taken, would keepe anie succours from landing which might be sent out of England, this hauen of Calais, which *Cesar* called *Icius Portus*, being distant from the first hauen of England which is called Douer, but fise leagues off the Seas, able to bee passed ouer with a leading gale in two howers. Therefore the Duke of Guise hauing all the night, together with the D. *D'aumalle* his brother, the Marshall *Stroisy*, *De Termes*, *D'Estre*, great master of the Artillerie, *De Sansac*, *De Tauannes*, *De Dandelot*, and *De Senarpons* reuised, and well viewed the Downes, approached yet neerer to the

the forte of Riccebanke; and all at one instant, the Sea being verie low ebbed, hee caused the young *Alegre*, and an other Gentleman, to bee conducted by *Rendan* vnto a certaine place of the porte, where hee knew there was a passage, for to found it. As it was done and speedily dispatched, it was resolved among all the Captaines, to batter and assaile these two forts together at one time. In which *Desfree* trauided so diligently, and caused the Vassadours and Cannoniers to take so extreame paines, as on the next morrow, being the fourth of the month, his Artillerie was readie planted three howers before day against these two places, and as soone as day peeped: beganne to turne against the Englishmen. The which amased in such sorte those which were besieged within the fort of Nieullay, as at the second vollie they quitted the place, and in all hast retired themselues within the Towne. The Duke of Guise, hauing in this sorte, made the first passage open, caused the French incontinently to enter, and be lodged within, where he found a great deale of Artillerie, poulder and munition. Afterwards to stop all other succour, which might by land be brought vnto the towne, he caused twentie Ensignes of the French Fanterie, & the Almanes of the Reingraue, with eight hundred Reisters, and two hundred men at armes, vnder the conduct of the Prince de la Roche-sur-yon to bee lodged betweene the Towne and the Marish behinde the caufers. Leauing besides *De Termes*, with other companies of Caualerie, Gendarmerie, and Zuizers, vpon the passage from Guines to the Downes, whether this Prince with the rest of the armie went to encampe. An hower after the taking of the fort of Nieullay, they which were within the forte of Riccebanke, yeelded themselues vnto the discretion of the Generall, of whome they were verie countouslie entreated. And thus this Prince remained sealed, and possessed in one day, of two principall places, which were of so great importance vnto him, and most necessarie for to enioy his full victorie with all. Wherefore pursuing at hand, the occasion, which so fauourably with open armes presented it selfe vnto him, the fourth of that moneth he caused six Cannons and three long Culuerines to bee mounted before the water Gate, and to breake the flankers and defences, he caused the earth to bee remooued and filled vp baskets, and Gabiannades therewith, as if hee had intended to addresse his principall batterie in that place, hauing with sundrie volleys of the Cannon disarmed that port, broken, and rent a sunder certaine towers which might hinder him from going to the breach, which he determined to goe in hand withall. Holding thus them which were besieged in doubt, which part they were best to defend, & to provide for, without doubting any whit at all of the Castle, which was steepe, drie, and without any Rampires, where all at a blow, he planted fiftene Cannons in batterie, charging and discharging all the day long a tempest of Artillerie, with so great a furie, as towards the night the breach grew verie large, and apparant. So as at the same instant before it grew night, the D. of Guise caused *D'Andelot* Colonel of the Fanterie, to passe, (with two hundred Harquebusiers and Corcelets, followed with a number of Gentlemen,) and goe ioyne and fortifie himselfe all along the Meye, and breadth of the porte, which was betweene the Downes and the Towne, whether for to come he must necessarily passe ouer a little water: ordaining further that as soone as euer he should become master thereof, euery man should be made worke, to digge vp a trench and trauerse, with such instruments as he had caused to be giuen to all the Souldiers, the which might trauerse and answere to the *Doue*, & wall of the *Dich*, in that place, which they ment afterwards to breake vp; whereby all the waters of the diches might sue into the porte, and they likewise might goe in couert, from the port vnto the diches

The forte of Riccebank rendered vp to the Duke of Guise.

The port of Calais occupied by D'Andelot and his French company.

ches. Besides the courage, which greatly conducted the worke of the French, the commoditie to haue euerie thing readie, and at hand helped them verie much: for they had so long before artificioosly provided all matters necessarie for this siege, as especially to cause the men and other munitions to passe ouer the Ice, and marshes, they caused a great quantitie of Hurdels with Pease strawe to bee brought by Sea, to the end that the water might not eate, perce, nor corrupt the. And the better to couer the Harquebusiers by reason that the sand, and grauel was alreadie discovered and in view, they had caused a great number of flakes: and Pale-bordes of drie woode to be brought, of the strongest and lightest they could choose, of a mans hight, and halfe a foote in thicknes, couered all without, three or fower fingers in thicknes, with writhed paper one ouer an other, so as the Harquebuse could not easily enter, hauing a rest beneath, at the foote whereof was an yron Pike, of a foote and an halfe long to fasten it into the ground how hard soeuer it were, behinde these blinders the Harquebusiers might shoot easily thorough a litle hole which was in the midst thereof. The D. of Guise seeing how greatly the breach opened, and that three volleys of Cannon might make it reasonable, determined as soone as he could to giue the assaulte. In the meane time to holde his enemies continually in alarums, and to stoppe them from Rampiring any waies, he caused *Gramont* at eight of the clocke at night vpon the ebbe of the Sea, to passe with three hundred the best Harquebusiers of his troupes, to goe to view the countenance of the besieged, and with a peale of Harquebuse shot, to dislodge those which should present themselues vnto them. And at the same instant the Marshall *Stroffy*, with other three hundred Harquebusiers, conducted by the Captaine *Sarkalos* and a hundred Pioners, went to gaine the other end of the port to lodge himselfe in the litle houses, which were there: and so fortifying himselfe with a good trench to remaine there, and commaunde all the porte. Notwithstanding the bullets flew so hot about their eares, as after fure or six souldiers and Pioners were slaine, they were faine to retire, and come backe to the Generall, who was not farre off, hauing already aduanced neer vnto the port with *D'Aumale*, and the Marquisse *D'Elbans* his brethren, *De Montmorency*, and *De Bouillon*, followed with many Gentlemen. In the meane time this Prince hauing caused the breach to be thrice viewed, as well by *Bracasse* as by others, and being aduertised that it was time, and that it was readie for the assaulte without any longer delay, gaue the token, and caused *Gramont* to aduance among the first, with his Harquebusiers, assisted with as many Corcelers, conducted by the Marshall *Stroffy*, followed besides with two hundred other souldiers: and himselfe on the other side hauing waded as deepe as his girdle, went foremost before the rest of the troupes as fane as the foote of the breach. At which the French gaue an assaulte, with such an hardinesse and Impetuositie, as after hauing cut a peeces such as they encountered at the first, they constrained the ouerplus in a short time to quite the Castle, which they cleane abandoned to retire themselues into the Towne. Thus being aduantaged of this passage and first entrie within Calais, the D. of Guise commaunded them to fortifie themselues, and looke that they might not bee thrust out, leauing *D'Aumale*, and the Marquisse *D'Elbans* his brethren, their Capitaines for the rest of the night, and himselfe, for that it began to flow, passed ouer to the armie on the other side, to the end he might send them succours by day breake, and to be meete with any disorder which might chaunce to happen. When the English men came againe to themselues, and had gotten their wits together, they greatly repenting the fault which they had committed, in hauing so sodenly abandoned the Castle, whereby they saw a full ouerture made for the French into their towne, they returned with a

Instruments of artimemented for the siege of Calais.

farre greater hardinesse than before to recouer the peace againe, iudging that those which were within could not long abide it, and that they could not be succoured, by reason that it was floud, and the sea of a great depth. Thereupon they came violently vpon the French, which attended them with the lyke courage, but with more aduantage. In summe, they found so great a resistance made, as they were beaten back with a farre greater losse than before. But remaining full of opinion that they might regain theyr castle, they brought three peeces of artillerie vpon the other end of the bridge towards the towne, to blowe vp the gate and scoure those which should defend it, and from a platforme which was vpon one of the corners of the great place, they shot in an infinite number of Cannon shot, so as it would haue bene thought that no man in the world durst haue shewed himselfe there, and afterwarde they redoubled another assault, more furious than the first. Now if it were well assaulted, it was better defended, for hauing liuely put them backe, and more than three hundred of their bruest men lying on the ground dead or hurt, the French in the end shut the gates, and sodainly rampired them behinde, vpon which all courage and hope afterwarde fayled those which were besieged. So as from thence forwardes they thought it good rather to parlie, and treat of some fauourable composition, than to make anie longer resistance. Wherefore on the morrowe morning Wentworth, who was gouernor thereof, sent two of the principallest men of the towne to the Duke of Guise, who demanded verie great conditions for their aduantage. In the end they stooped & were content with these Articles.

That they should haue their liues saued without anie force, or displeasure offered to man, wife, maide, or child. All the inhabitants of the towne should retire themselves whether they woulde, either into England or into Flanders, with such passports and safeconducts as should be thought necessarie for their suretie and passage, my Lord Wentworth remaining with fiftie such other prisoners of warre as the Duke of Guise woulde chooseth out. And for the rest of the men of warre, they should be bound to passe ouer into England. They should leaue behinde them the artillerie, powder, bullets, armour, ensigne, and generally all kinde of munitions, as well of warre as victualles, within the towne, without breaking, burning, hiding, or endemning anie thing at all. As for golde, siluer, monie, or not monie, goods, moneables, merchandise, and horse, all should remaine in the discretion of the Duke of Guise to dispose of, as it shoulde seeme best vnto himselfe.

All which things beeing accorded on the eight of Ianuarie, this Prince began to put out a great parte of the people out of the towne, and the rest followed according as it was promised, without hauing anie wrong or disturbance done them, without anie one Englishmans remayning there. But well an incredible quantity of powder, artillerie, munition, wolles, and of all sortes of victuals, which were staide, and the surplussage giuen in praie to the soldiers. After this manner, and in lesse than seuen daies space, was Calais & her fortresses conquered, which as she was esteemed impregnable, before which (as the Chronicles of France doo witness, during the raigne of Phillip the sixt, named *De Valois*, and in England, of *Edward* the third) the English armie layd siege during the space of one whole yeere. In the end they which were besieged with in the towne, were driuen to so great a necessitie and famine, as they were faine to eate rats and hides of leather, *Iohn de Vienne* commaunding there, it was yielded the third daie of August 1347. wherby the English inioyed it two hundred & ten yeres, during which space they bragged how they carried the keyes of France at their girdle, beeing able by this meanes to enter and depart the realme at theyr pleasure. But as one Phillip king of France lost it, so dyd the French againe conquer it from another Phillip king of England. It was onely inclosed with stone walls, full of round towers,

ioyning

ioyning neere one another, first builded for speare and shilde, arrows, or anie other instruments of warre without fire, after the old fashon, and without anie rampires, or other deuises or subtkies, such as are now a dayes inuented agaynst the force of our artillerie. At this houre it is iudged to bee one of the fayrest and strongest townes of warre in all Europe. For as much as besides the naturall situation thereof, in a place vn-accessible, for that it is inuironed three partes with riuers, brookes, and marishes, and the fourth side defended with the sea, with a great and spacious porte, not beeing subiect or to bee commanded by anie thing. The arte and inuention of man hath giuen vnto it a forme more square than otherwise, new clothed without wyth great, large, & malsiue rampires, hauing at the three corners towards the marish three gret bulwarks, in point triangle-wise, wel flanked and armed to couer and defend the curtines. And on the other square towards the downes standeth the castle, by which, for that it was not knowne, or the imperfection not remedied, grew this last taking of the towne. Besides, this towne is wholly inuironed with large ditches, and maruellous deepe, with springs at the verie bottome, alwayes full of water, by reason of a little riuier which commeth from Hames, which passing thorough the towne, watereth them, & filleth them full, as well as all the rest of the little brookes which breake out of the marishes, fall downe, and sew thether for the most part. But which is more praise-worthie in a towne of war, there is one of the fairest square publike places as is possible to behold, in which at the least may bee put in battell betweene foure or fife thousand men, and the reuenue and profite of the port must needs be better, for that it is one of the principallest & most renowned townes of the Ocean sea, whether there is brought from all partes of the world an infinite and inestimable riches, and of all sortes of marchandise, and from thence lykewise they are distributed into sundrie other Countreies. Now whilest that they battred the towne, the thunder and bruite of the artillerie being heard within England, the Queene to remedy the same, caused a number of ships to bee prepared, which she furnished with souldiers, and all kind of munitions fit for anie succour to bee sent thether. But when they approached, and already perceiued the colours and white crosses to waue vpon the tower of Ricebanke and wals of the towne, without comming anie neerer, they returned backe to carrie report thereof home into their countrie.

The towne of Calais beeing surprised in so short a time, there grew afterwarde some disputation to which of the two they should adreffe themselves, either Graueline or Guines, for so much as these two fortresses seemed to bee lyke two shoulders to support the towne, and as two strong bulwarks to close vp the two principall passages thereto, to wit, Graueline for Flanders, and the lowe Countreies, and Guines for France.

Notwithstanding these propositions being ampie debated of and discuffed, the more sound opinion resolued, that Guines imported much more for the conseruation of Calais than Graueline, although it were far stronger and of more difficile access. According to which aduice, the Generall of Guise, without giuing anie great leasure to the enemye to bethinke himselfe of anie remedie, pursuing neere his victorie, the thirteenth of this moneth besieged Guines, where *Graue* commaunded, wyth a good number of men of warre, and all other kinds of munitions requisite. At theyr arriual the French finding the towne abandoned, lodged there for their better help, towards the battering and assault of the fortresse which was ioyning thereunto. But the Englishmen surprising them as they were growen into a great disorder about theyr lodging, sallied out at a posterne gate of the castle, and thrust them out vpon the first fury,

setting

Description of
the Towne of
Calais.

Guines & Graue-
line as it were
two souldiers
support Calais.

setting in spight of them the better part of the houses on fire, and afterwards retired: but the D. of Guise caused them to begin the breaches, albeit the Artillerie gaue impediment enough thereunto. So as with an obstinate assurance, and without intermission he caused the worke to bee pursued. Where hee himselfe, to augment their courage and to serue for an example to euery one, was ready with the first, and had his Mattocke as soone ready in his hand to make way for the Cannon as the meanest Pioner in the troupe. And in such sort continued in preparing the ground and dressing vp of Gabionades, as within three daies after, hee approched and put the mouth of his Artillerie to the number of thirtie fiue peeces of batterie, iust vpon the border and counterscarpe of the diches, to batter as well pointe blanke, as trauesing in three places principally, one of the greatest and principallest bulwarks, which flanked on the one side the Courtine of the Gate, and on the other their great bulwarke which they called, the keape, vnder taking at the first one of the strongest of the bulwarks, in hope after to obtaine better cheape some of the lesse and smaller sorte. Thus verie sudainly began the batterie. The which endured without cease two daies & 2 halfe, in such a furie, as within so short a space there was discharged betwene eight and nine thousand shot of Cannon. In such sort, as this great bulwarke being opened and disarmed, the breach by the 20. of this Moneth appeared reasonable for the assault. But the D. of Guise for all that, knowing by how many waies and deuises a breache might be repared, and the meanes and subtilties which the enemy might inuent, to entrappethem which should make the assault, and to fortifie himselfe within, before that he would hazard his Souldiers, thought it good to make the breach more then once to be viewed, and what kind of accessse was made, for to goe vp at. And therefore at the first blow he sent fower of his most dispozte Souldiers which hee could chuse out, followed with twentie other resolute men, who were incontinently retired by his owne commandement. The next morrowe he sent againe fiue Souldiers no lesse aduenterous then the first. The which gaue verie good hope for the comming to the breach: yet not trusting to al these reports, for that he would not vpon too light a credite, make a suddaine frycassie, of so many valiant mens liues, as lightly are the foremost in such an exploit, he sent againe fixe score French souldiers, to gaine and pre-occupy with the first the top and highest part of the Parapet, which was on the assaillants side, that thereby they might couer, and helpe vp a certaine number of Pioners, which he caused to mount vp with the same tracke, for to plane, and make the mounting vp to the breach more easie, which was as yet verie high and rough, commaunding all these aduenterers notwithstanding, that they shoulde not vnder take further then they had charge, which they obeyed, gayning with a great number of blowes, and hazard of their life, the toppe of the breach. In the end standing assured, that the way was prepared, hee commanded *D'Andelos* generall of all the French Fanterie to be ready with his souldiers, that as soone as the token should be giuen, he might readily present himselfe to the assault. And he for to view with his eye the beginning, and such issue as should ensue, and if it were possible to discern within the breach, & behold the fashion of the men within, mounted vp a little Hillocke high enough to discouer, that for to sustaine and defend that breach, there needed not so many men as the first thought for. Wherefore all at the instant hee caused a regiment of chosen Almanes to marche straight to the breach, to open the first passage thereof, who with great assurance, and without any feare of harme were there ouerthrowne. By the like meanes he made signe to *D'Andelos* that he shold follow him with his troupes which he did, for altogether made a maruelous stur to enter, the most part of the Souldiers plunging

Guise besieged
the 13. of Janua-
rie.

plunging and entring within the water, and diches of seuentie foote in depthe, with such an heate and desperate hardines, that they forgotte all danger, albeit that the Duke of Guise had caused bridges to be builded ouerthwart the diches, with pipes, and caske linked one to another, vpon which they had cast planks and iuyce, and bound them fast together. All this notwithstanding such a vehemente furye pushed them forward, as they had no regarde neyther to bridge nor passages, through the verie desire which they had to enter. And yea their impetuositie was not so greate & furious, but that at the first bounde they were repulsed, the enemies greatly helping themselves through their artificial fires, & fighting for their life with a strange & incredible obstinacie. The which the Duke of Guise perceauing, came downe the litle hyl; and thrusting hymselfe into the middest of them, reprehended some, solicited other, and preuailed so farre with the rest, as he restored in such a sorte their heart into their bellye, that turning their face, and beginning a freshe, they redubled with such a corage, and fell to it with so greate a force, as the beseged fainted vnder the burthen, being no longer able to sustaine this last charge: so as being ouerthrowne, they abandoned the entrie and lefte the breache to the Frenche and Almanes, with the losse of more then three or fowre hundred men, amonge whome there were founde neare hand fowre score Spaniards of the brauest men, and of best reputation: As the rest turned their backs, and were either slaine in the furie or taken prisoners, the same daye the Almanes of *Colonell Reicord* conducted by his newew, did on the other side force two litle bulwarks, which had likewise bene battered, where the breach was made, & so was the base court of the castle wholie gained vpon the same day. The gouernour *Grey*, before this losse, foreseeing the danger which was likely to ariue, had retyred himself with a sonne of his into the olde Castle, & their principall forte, which they called the Bulwarke or keepe, as were in like sorte the principall Captaines, and best soldiers. And had transported in with themselves all their richest moueables. All they hauing a while bethought themselves of their worke, and finding themselves vnable to resist against the fury of the French, determined to parley. And the gouernour *Grey* sent the same daye two gentlemen to the Duke of Guise, to declare vnto him that in defending of that place, being of so great marke & importance, the keeping whereof had bene committed to him, he ought not to finde it strange nor in euil part, if as an honest man and according to his dutie, he had well defended it, so far as to haue endured the assault: If he should haue don otherwise it had bene against his honor and faith, requiring him in the end to deliuer vnto him, an honest composition. This Prince hauing vnderstoode his propositions, differred answer vntill the next morrowe, albeit that some counsellled him to take him at his worde, considering that he stood as yet vpon his feete and almoste as strong, as at the first, haping besides this olde Castle whole and entire of a most strong and auncient matter, emiuroned with most deepe dyches, and full of water where they must needs make a newe batterye, and where it was possible to retrenche it, the place being spacious enough. Besides that there rested the greate and large Bulwarke of the keepe, which commaunded al the rest, the whole being garnished with artillery & munitions and defended by the best aduised, and valiantest men that were. Then on the morrowe being the one & twentieth of this moneth, the Duke of Guise accorded this composition. That the Souldiers should departe with their armes, but that their ensignes should remaine in the place, with all artillerye, powder, bulletts, and all other kinde of munition, as well of warre as victuals. As for my Lord *Grey*, and all the Captaines of qualitie which he had with him, they should remaine prisoners of warre, in the power of the King and of the Duke.

Duke of Guise. This capitulation being receiued & approved by the besieged, the day following there departed thence betweene 900. and 1000. men of warre, part Englishmen, part Borguignons, and a number of Spaniards, besides the common sort, which tooke euery man such course as himselfe listed, franke and free without any harme or displeasure done vnto them, three or fower hundred dead and hurt remaining behinde. *Grey* was retayned prisoner, so was *Mondragon* a Spanish Captaine, who hauing bene before prisoner in the Bastile of Paris, saued himselfe, and was againe committed to ward thither. That done the Duke of Guise, for that this place seemed verie dangerous if it should bee taken againe, and greatly noysome to the high waye from Calais into France, especially in being so neere vnto Ardres, and that it would be a double expence to keepe it, hauing caused all the Artillerie munition and victuals to be taken out, caused it to be ruined and razed: in the yeare 1551. The towne and Castle of Guines, were taken by the Englishmen, notwithstanding the truce which then was, by the conspiracie & treason of one named *Gilliaume de Beau Courroy*, Lieutennant to the Captaine of that place, who for this cause, was beheaded, and afterwards hanged. Now there rested no more of the whole countie of Doye, but a little Castle called Hames, which was not restored into the Kings obedience. And for that this Castle, albeit that it was little, and not rampired nor fortified by any art, was notwithstanding naturally seated in so strong, & as it were vnaccessible a situation, as being enuironed with Fleetes, Motes, and Marefches, hauing but a verie narrow cawse to passe ouer into it, and that in manie places crossed with wooden Bridges broken and taken awaie, it was almost impregnable to bee gotten from men well furnished and resolute, they were in a great doubt after what manner they might besiege it. In the meane time *Sipierre*, to whome the keeping of this cawse was committed, hauing the Duke of Lorraines companie whereof hee was Lieutennant, and some other, aduertised the D. of Guise, that they which were within Hames, being frighted, and dismaied at the taking of Guines, had abandoned it, and were fled away by night, thorough certaine by-pathes which they onely were acquainted with all in the Marefches. And so it fel out verie easie to be seased, where they found much Artillerie and prouisions. Afterwards the French remained in all, and thorough all masters, and there was neither forte nor Castle, which was not yeelded vnto them, or abandoned: so that besides the Countrie which the Duke of Guise conquered ouer the Englishmen, and the rich booties which were found therein and taken, there were gained neere hand three hundred peeces of Brasse artillerie, all mounted vpon carriages, and as many of yron.

Mondragon a
Spaniards.

Hamas Castle
abandoned.

The K. in his par
liament at Paris.

The K. armie
dismissed.

After this the King hauing kept his bed of iustice, with the *Dauphin* and the rest at the Parliament of Paris, and caused a number of Ordonances concerning his owne estate to bee proclaimed, visited Calais with the King *Dauphin*, leaving there *De Termes* as gouernour, with charge to persute the fortifications such as you see them at this daye. Afterwards the rygor of the winter enforced him then to dismisse his armie for to refreshe themselves all sauing such troupes as hee distributed into Garrisons, where hee thought most neede, resolving to redresse a newe armie at the spring. There was the charge of the light horse bestowed vpon the Duke de Nemours, at the instance of the Duke of Guise, whome he caused to bee preferred, before the Prince of Conde, who at the same time and before had demanded this charge, whereupon he grew verie makontente: then the King went to Fontaine Bleau, whether *Antonie de Bourbon*, Duke of Vendomis, and as then King of Nauarre, thorough the decease of the King his late Father in lawe, came

came vnto him, shewing himselfe besides much offended with the D. of Nemours by reason of the *Damoiselle de Rohan*, cousin Germaine to the Q. of Nauarre, who maintained that he had promised to marrie her, and vpon that sued him in the Arches. The D. of Neuers being tickled with the good hap which accompanied the Duke of Guise, gaue the Rende-uous at *Tuoy* to all such troupes as hee was able to assemble together within his gouernment: wher hauing let them all to vnderstand, how that there was no place more enemy, nor of greater importance then the Castle of Herbermont, in being the principal place, wher all the enemies bandes assembled together, and retired from their enterprises, hee resolved to carrie it away. Therefore hauing caused it, that night to be enclosed round with the light horse, the next morning the armie lay encamped, ready to batter the place, after they had well viewed it thorough hot skirmishes, vnder the fauour whereof, they had gained as farre as the Courte, and quickly after was mounted and planted a part of the artillerie to batter downe with Cannon, out of the flankers of the Castle. But when they perceiued how little they preuailed thereby, by reason of the hard and bad situation thereof, they planted the Cannon, right in front and at the head, to batter a bulwarke, which couered and defended the onely passage and entrance vnto it, which they shot off so furiously, and bestirred themselves so well in so short aspace, albeit that the breach was not sufficient to giue the assault to, as the desired parlie, vpon some conditions. But being deceiued in his demaunds, and a short answer being made him by this Prince, how that he should speake of no other composition, then yeeld to his mercy, otherwise that if he made not good hast, he should instantly bee cut in peeces, with all his, albeit that hee was nothing so neere danger, as the faintnesse of his heart imagined, trusting in the bountie of this Prince, he notwithstanding yeeld himselfe vnto his mercy: of which at the entreatie of *Jametz*, he found experience, the D. of Neuers vsing such sweetnes, as to send him away with his wife, and family, and generally all the rest of the souldiers which were within, their liues & goods saued, without being any waies pilld or ranfomed. This done, the Prince sent a number of light horse, and Harquebusiers on horse backe, to view the ports of *Jamaigne*, *Chigny*, *Rosignol* and *Villefont*, part whereof they found already abandoned, and the rest yeelded at the first summons. They were determined to haue gone yet further forwards, and to haue giuen as far as *Neufchastel* in *Ardaines*. But the raynes, snowes, and great frostes broke off their desseins. Now the only taking of this Castle of *Hebermont*, ought not to be placed among the least, for besides that it is naturally strong and easie to bee made inexpugnable, as being situate vpon a high and hard rocke, on all parts vnaccessible, sauing by this passage, by which it was battered, yet is it most proper & conuenient for the assuring of the whole passages of the Ardenes, all the Champion ouer, and seconding the strong Castle of *Bouillon*, to hold in awe all the fortes, of the long forrests of Ardenes: it appertaineth to the comte *Bilisten*, and the *Roche fort*, to the keeping whereof: was appointed the Captaine de la Croix, Lieutennant to *Haute-Courte*.

Madamoiselle de
Rohan,
D. of Neuers.

The Castle of
Hebermont
yeelded.

FINIS.



L O N D O N

Printed by Iohn VVindet dwelling at Powles
Wharfe at the signe of the Crosse Keyes, and are there
to be sould. 1 5 9 5.